THE BOMBAY COURIER.

[PUBLISHED TWICE A-WEEK,—EVERY SATURDAY AND TUESDAY MORNING.—PRICE 18 RUPEES PER QUARTER].

VOL. XLII.] TUESDAY, 28 OCTOBER, 1834. [NO. 2383.

BENGAL TENTS.—Camp Equipage of every description can be had as usual, on application to Messrs. IVES AND CO. Tent Contractors, Futtyghur. Messrs. Ives and Co. trust the satisfaction they have always given in the numerous Tents with which they have supplied Officers of the Bombay Establishment, on the Frontier, and the experience they have had in forwarding the same with safety and dispatch, will secure to their establishment that preference it has invariably received.

The State Tents of the Right Hon'ble the EARL OF CLARE, were built by Messrs. Ives and Co. *Futtyghur, August*, 1834.

ADVERTISEMENT.

THE existing contract for the Travancore Government Cardamoms, expiring with the present season, the Undersigned is authorized to receive Tenders for the ensuing crop, until the 1st January, 1835

The quantity usually collected averages from 150 to 200 Candies annually; the weight of the candy being (600) six hundred English pounds.

The custom hitherto observed of separating the Cardamoms into classes, will in future be discontinued, and the whole quantity sold in the lump to the highest bidder above Rupees four hundred and seventy five (475) per candy—They will be packed in Mat Robins, and shipped at the expense of the Government as usual.

The collection commences in February, and the whole quantity is deliverable by the 15th of May.

A deposit of Rs 25,000 will be required on acceptance of the Tender, to be forfeited in the event of the Cardamoms not being cleared from the Government godowns by the 15th May, the contract being then void.

Samples may be seen, and any further information obtained, by application to the Undersigned.

J. CALDECOTT,
Coml. Agent to the Travancore Govt.
TRAVANCORE COML. DEPARTMENT.
Alleppey, 24th Sept., 1834.

જાહેર ખબર

શ્રી તરાવેનકોરની શરકારની એલચીનુ કંતરાકટ કાલનો મોશમનુ પુરૂ થશે તેથી કેહલ લાવનારને શરાફે તે કુપરથી નવી મોશમની ખેદાએશની એલચી પીશે પરપોજ લો તારીખ ૧ લી જનેવારી શને ૧૮૩૫ શુધી લેશે ✽

એ માલનો જથ્થો કુમેશાનો શરેશરા પર માંણે ૧૫૦ તથા ૨૦૦ ખાંડીની એવરેજ એ લે શરાશરી કુતરેછે તે દર એક ખાંડી. અંગરેજી ૬૦૦ રતલની જાણવી ✽

એલચી જાત જાતની જુદી જીની કકાડવા નો જે શરેશરો કુતો તે કુપેછ કકાડી નાંખે એછે ને બધો જથ્થો એકંદર એકંદમો વધુ કીમત જેકોજ રૂપીઆ ૪૭૫ અંકે ચારશો પનચોતેર થીબી અડકો લાવ આપશે તેને વેચાતો આપશે ને તે માલ શાદરી ની મુડી મો બાંધી વાંકાંણ કુપર શરેશરા પરમાંણે શરકારનાં ખરચે ચડાવી આપશે ✽

આવતા ફેબરવારી મડીનાંથી જુકાડો કુપરથી એલચીઓ કુતારવા માંડશે તે તારીખ ૧૫ મી એપ્રેલ મડીનાંનીએ બધી રાશ આપેઆમો આવશે ✽

જેનુ પરપોજલ કબુલ થશે તે ઘણીએ રૂપીઆ ૨૫૦૦૦ અનામત રાખવા તથા માલ તારીખ ૧૫ મી એપ્રેલને દીને શરકારની વખારોમોથી નવી કુચકી લઇજશેતો તે અનામત રૂપીઆ ચુનેગારીમો જશે તથા કંતરા કટ રદ તથા બાતેલ થશે ✽

નમુનો જેવો કોએ તથા એ વીશે કાંઇ પુછવુ કોએતો કેઠલ શરી કરનારને મલેઆથી અથવા પુછિઆથી માલુમ પડશે ✽

જે—કાલડીકોટ
તરાવેનકોરની શરકારનો વેપાર
ખાતાનો ચુમારાતો
શ્રી તરાવેનકોરનુ વેપાર ખાનુ
આલપજા તારીખ ૧૫ મી
શપતેમબર ૧૮૩૪

NOTICE is hereby given—That JOHN BECKWITH, Esq, is authorized by us to transact our business, and to sign our firm per procuration.

FERGUSON, TURNER, AND CO.
Bombay, 25th October, 1834

ON Wednesday, the 5th November, at noon, Messrs. FRITH, BOMANJEE and Co. will submit for sale by public Auction, the following carriages vizt. A very Handsome London built Phæton, with double body Patent Axles, and complete in every respect. It has been run about 12 month, and is parted with solely on account of the party to whom it belongs, no longer requiring it.

ALSO,

A Roomy family Barouche, painted green, in excellent repair, and a Landaulette, with pair of Grey Horses and Harness, with any other carriages or cattle that may offer.

In addition to the above Messrs. FRITH, BOMANJEE and Co. will sell a Handsome Grey Horse, rising 5 years, fifteen hands high, perfectly gentle, and warranted as a good Lady's Horse.

Nesbit Lane, 28th October, 1834.

NOTICE.

NO business will be transacted at the Circulating Library on Friday and Saturday next, the 31st Inst. and 1st Prox. in consequence of its removal to Church lane. as advertised in last Saturday's Courier. Subscribers are requested to supply themselves with books to prevent disappointment. The issue of books will commence on Monday, the 2nd Prox.

WILL BE PUBLISHED ON THE 1st JANUARY, 1835,

THE BOMBAY CALENDAR and ALMANACK for the year 1835, containing Rules, Regulations, and other matter of local interest not previously published, together with a List of the Officers of His Majesty's and the Hon'ble Company's Service, now in His Highness the Nizam's Army.

This work will be printed on both English and China paper. The price of the former will be six, and the latter five rupees per copy.

JUST Published No. 16 of the QUARTERLY ARMY LIST.—Price Rupees 3.,

FOR LONDON, TOUCHING AT THE CAPE, AND ST. HELENA,

THE first class Teak Ship GILMORE, 550 Tons, H. H. LINDSAY, Commander, has splendid accommodations for passengers; carries a Surgeon, and will be dispatched 1st to 15th December.

For Terms of Freight or Passage, apply at the office of DUNCAN GIBB AND CO.
Dady's Buildings, 28th Oct., 1834.

PASSAGE TO LONDON,

THE HERO of MALOWN, JAMES SMITH, Commander, 500 Tons, will carry a Surgeon; sails early in December. For terms. apply to Captain Smith, at the Office of DIROM, CARTER and Co.

FREIGHT AND PASSAGE TO LIVERPOOL,

THE PRINCESS CHARLOTTE, W. KERBY, Commander, 510 Tons. Will sail 20th November. Apply to Captain KERBY, at the Office of DIROM, CARTER, and Co.

FOR FREIGHT AND PASSAGE TO CALCUTTA,

THE fine fast sailing BARQUE "ARAB," of 350 Tons, J. S. SPARKES, H. C. S. Commander; to sail in all this month. Has good accommodations for a small party of passengers.—Apply to Captain SPARKES, at the office of McGREGOR, EDMOND and Co.
Bombay, 28th October, 1834.

FOR PASSAGE TO LONDON,

THE teak-built Ship "PALMIRA," of 700 Tons Burden, WM. LOADER, Commander, will sail from hence in January: has a poop and superior accommodations for Passengers, and carries a Surgeon.—Plans of her Cabins may be seen at the Office of McGREGOR, EDMOND AND CO.
Bombay, 28th Oct. 1834.

MEDICAL OFFICERS IN GUZERAT.

TO THE EDITOR OF THE BOMBAY COURIER.

MR. EDITOR.—When the appointment of a Medical man as Assistant Surgeon in the Company's Service appears in G. O. there is generally some exclamation of pity for the poor fellow who has to toil up the long list of A. . .s, before he can be a full Surgeon.—From the remarks made at times you are led to believe that the country is overrun with young Pills, and if you turn to the Army List, it must be confessed that they make a good show, and muster strong. Now may I venture to ask, without being thought impertinent, what becomes of them all?—how is it that in this quarter of the land where at one time of the year in particular (the months of September and October) sickness is as much anticipated, as a *burra khana*, a ball and fireworks are on the King's birth day in Bombay—how is it that none of these young gentlemen are to be met with? It is true, each Corps has one Doctor, but there are no extra hands to supply their places in case of accidents. To convince you I am not crying out prematurely, let me just mention, that at the commencement of September, there were present in this Camp (I believe I may say, in perfect health) twenty three European Officers—out of that number six are now away,—sick some at Kambay, and some on their way to the Presidency—one has died. Of the remaining sixteen almost all have been ailing more or less. We should certainly feel more at ease had we an extra Surgeon or two instead of only one who is to-day laid up with fever; the other Surgeon is among the number who have left the station ill. The strength of the Wing of Cavalry in this Brigade is 187 of all classes; of that number 49 are in Hospital. Of the 25th Regiment there are present at Head Quarters 577; of these there were yesterday 91 in Hospital—this morning 97, and this evening 101. Of the Artillery 18 out of 79; and of the Gun Lascars 2 out of 32 are in Hospital. A detachment of 100 men at Veerpoor has 30 sick. Besides these, there are a number of men with fever. but not severe enough to prevent them getting through with their duty The amount of sick among the officers' servants is very great. I mention these *little particulars* in order that you may form an idea of what Guzerat is after the Rains; and that it is not very pleasant to find one's self surrounded by a multitude of sick folk, while there is a paucity of medical attendants. Some consider that the sickly season is only now *commencing!* Before these few lines can meet the eye of those who are able to assist us, the mischief will probably have been done, and some of us perhaps laid in our graves; however, though we who are here now, may not benefit this year from any measures that may be adopted, yet I trust that the powers that be, will kindly take the hint and provide against a similar deficiency of Medical officers next year.

I am, &c.
PALE YELLOW.

Hursole, 17th October, 1834

P. S. Report says that there are 200 men in Hospital at Baroda, and 100 in each of the Regiments at Ahmedabad.

POONA.

PARTY TO LORD CLARE.

A Meeting of the friends of Lord Clare has taken place at Poona to take into consideration the best method of paying his Lordship a tribute of respect and esteem previous to his final departure from the Deckan. At the head of the list appear the names of Sir John Keane, Sir James S. Barns, Mr. Baber, Colonel Wiltshire &c. when it was determined to request his Lordship's Company to an entertainment on the 5th of November, a day celebrated in the annals of Poona, on which the battle of Kirkee took place.—The list was immediately circulated throughout cantonments, and upwards of 160 names witness the high estimation in which his Lordship is held by the Poona Society,—each Corps,—the staff and the Civil Service named their own Stewards, who have since settled among themselves the part each should take in superintendance and arrangement; and cards of invitation have been issued to all the Ladies to meet his Lordship. Many Gentlemen from the Deccan outstations have since added their names to the List,
Poona, 24th October, 1834.

ARRIVALS AND DEPARTURES.

ARRIVALS.

Assistant Surgeon Deacon, from Cutch.
Lieut. and Adjutant W. J. Eastwick, 12th N. I., from Baroda.
Lieut. J. Jessop, 12th Regt, N. I., from do.
Surgeon R. Pinhey, Staff, from the Deckan.
Lieut. J. Kilner, Engineers from do.
Major W. D. Robertson, 8th Regt. N. I.

DEPARTURE.

Lieut. Col. A. Manson, Artillery, to Poonah.

MADRAS.

MARRIAGE.—At Cuddalore, on the 10th October, by the Venerable Archdeacon Robinson, Lieutenant Henry Garnier, 2th Light Cavalry, second Son of the Reverend T. Garnier, Prebend of Winchester, and Rector of Bishop Stoke, to Catherine, third Daughter of Lieutenant Colonel T. Macleane, Madras European Regiment.

BIRTHS.—At St. Thomé, on the morning of 15th instant, the Lady of Major J. H. Crisp, of a Daughter. At Nellore, on the 31st of July last, Mrs. L. S. Smalley, of a Son.

DEATHS.—At Kamptee, on the 20th September, Byng James, Son of Lieutenant B. T. Giraud, 22d Regiment N. I. aged eight months. At Bangalore, on the 7th October, Assistant Surgeon W. D. La Touche, M. D. of the Medical Establishment. At Negapatam, on the 7th October, Mr. C. Leslie, (late Lieutenant) of the Pension Establishment. At Kamptee, on the 25th September John Heiden, the Son of William Stewart, Cantonment Serjeant Major at that Station, aged 3 years, 10 months, and 22 days.

CALCUTTA

MARRIAGES.—At Calcutta, on the 4th October, at the Cathedral, by the Reverend T. Robertson, Mr. William Chisholm Breen, to Miss Maria Frances Patterson.—At Serampore, on the 23d September, by the Reverend J. Mack, of Serampore College, Mr. C. Barclay, to Miss Jane Brydon.——At Calcutta, on the 6th October, at the Cathedral, by the Reverend T. Robertson, Mr. Henry Andrews, to Miss Mary Wittenbaker.

BIRTHS.—At Calcutta, on the 3d October, Mrs. G. A. Perroux, of a daughter.—At Sulkea, on Saturday, the 4th October, the Lady of James Mackenzie, Esq., of a daughter.—At Chandernagore, on the 1st October, the Lady of T. A. Terraneau, Esq., of a son.—At Cawnpore, on the 19th September, the Lady of Captain W. Bell, His Majesty's 16th Foot, of a daughter.—At Calcutta, on Thursday, the 9th October, Mrs R. L. Shircore, of a son.—At Allahabad, on the 1st October, the Lady of William Lambert, Esq., of the Civil Service, of a son.—At Calcutta, on the morning of the 6th October, Mrs. Delanougerede, of a daughter.

DEATHS.—At Agra, on the 21st September, Mr. William Joyce, aged 27 years and 20 days.—At Calcutta, on the 30th September, Walter W. O. Adams, Esq., aged 26 years and 4 months.—At Simla, on the morning of the 20th September, George. the son of J. H. Mathews, Esq., Pay Master, His Majesty's 31st Foot, aged 2 years and 11 days.

SHIPPING REPORT

ARRIVALS.

Oct. 26th.—French Brig Buffon, Caussourd, Master, from Bordeaux 8th June, Bourbon 23d September, and Mahee 19th Oct.

— 27th, Ship Malabar, William Tucker, Master, from London. Left Portsmouth, 18th July; Madeira 29th July, and Calicut 16th October.

Passengers.—Mrs. Clunes, Mrs. Ord, Mrs. Bourchier, Miss Loveday, Capt. Clunes, B. N. I. Capt. Ord, B. N. I. Doctor Kane, B. Army, Lieut. Rowland, I. N. Lieut. Bourchier, B. N. I. Mr. Coles, Merchant, Mr. Jameson, Cadet, 15 Passengers landed at Calicut 13th October.

DEPARTURES.

Oct. 25th, Ship Charles Kerr, John Brodie, Master, to London.

Passengers.—Mrs. Brodie, Mrs. Walters, Colonel Sullivan, George Giberne, Esq, C. S., G. J. Blane, Esq C. S. and 2 Native Servants, to the Cape.

— 26th.—Ship Robert, H. Blyth, Master, to Liverpool.

A LIST OF SHIPPING IN THE HARBOUR.

HON'BLE COMPANY'S SCHOONERS.—Shannon and Cyrene.
Do. BRIG OF WAR.—Tigris.
Do. STEAMER.—Hugh Lindsay.
FREE TRADERS.—Boyne, Cestrian, Gilmore, Princes Charlotte, Hero of Malown, Dauntless, and Malabar.
COUNTRY VESSELS.—Shaw Byramgore, Maackbar, Meekaee, Mahomedie, Discovery, Ellora, Ann, Rampertap, Good Success, Regia, and Lady Sarah.
AMERICAN—Ship Corvo,
ARAB SHIP.—Atitt Rahimon.
FRENCH—Brig Buffon.

THE COURIER

TUESDAY, 28th OCTOBER, 1834.

No less than four days had elapsed yesterday since the receipt of a dawk from Bengal. Where the delay occurred we are not aware, but we presume not on this side of India, as the weather has been fine and the roads must have been passable. Several dawks, however, were received in the course of the day, and among the rest one from Delhi, by which it would seem that the Joudpoor business has been finally settled; at least the Rajah has given up all idea of hostilities; for though still desirous of protecting the marauders who infest his territories, he has signified his intention of submitting implicitly to whatever may be required of him by the British Government. Negotiation, therefore, will probably accomplish the rest.

It appears, however, that a little active service still remains for a portion of the Joudpoor force. This consists in settling the country about Balmier, against which two or three regiments are about to be sent. The rest of the force is stated, in a letter received yesterday from the camp at Mundissoor dated the 16th inst. to be remanded and on its way back.

The writer adds that a report had just been received of Runjeet Singh's death, but doubts it. He observes at the same time, and we think very justly, that the return of the Bengal troops to their own stations settles the question regarding Deesa. At any rate, there can be no doubt it secures that station to the Bombay army for the present.

By the *Malabar*, which arrived yesterday, we have received London papers up to the 13th of July, affording an account of Lord Grey's retirement and the causes which led to it. They contain nothing positive, however, respecting the appointment of his successor, though it appears Lord Melbourne was considered as the person most likely to become the new premier soon after the schism in the cabinet became known.

The principal circumstances connected with this event have already been communicated to our readers, but in so short and imperfect a manner that we have determined to give another and more detailed statement of them. including a debate in the House of Commons during which the fact that a difference of opinion existed in the cabinet on the Irish Coercion Bill first transpired, and which thus led to the course subsequently pursued by the several parties concerned.

The papers before us afford no other news of importance.—There were no arrivals in England when the *Malabar* left later than those we have previously mentioned.—For a list of the passengers by this vessel we must refer our readers to the shipping report.

MADRAS.

We have letters from Bangalore, communicating to us the progress of Colonel Conway's Court Martial; but we are sorry at being unable to throw them into that form in which we should wish to lay them before our readers. Our desire is to give a mere abstract of the evidence of parties brought forward; but this we are unable to gather from the assumptions and speculations now before us; as we have neither particular information of the evidence adduced, nor indeed are all the witnesses' names even mentioned. We can therefore only give the following imperfect account.

The defence commenced on the morning of the 8th, in a short and simple statement to the following effect:—

"The most satisfactory evidence which I would produce would be the communication alluded to in the charge which passed between Brigadier General Foulis and myself. I will with the Court's permission mention that I received an Urzee or Petition which called for Inquiry on the subject of an accusation against Lieutenant Colonel Smythe; and I wrote privately to Colonel Foulis requesting explanation—but on my going to Bengal in 1829, I must have destroysd it and the reply which I received from him, together with many other demi official Papers. I will with the Court's permission adduce evidence of the circumstance existing at the time under which the communication took place—and I hope to convince the Court by the strongest circumstantial evidence, that the natural consequences of those circumstances would be a

communication on the subject between the Adjutant General of the Army and the Officer Commanding the 5th Light Cavalry."

Witnesses were then called (and some detail we regret much being unable to furnish) and their examination closed at one o'clock on the 10th. The latter part of this day was occupied in hearing evidence as to character, which was spoken of in the highest, warmest, and most exalted terms. Sir Alexander Campbell's letter, written from his death bed in 1824 to the Court of Directors, was put in and read, and nothing could be stronger than the testimony therein borne in Colonel Conway's favour. Generals Doveton and Foulis, Colonels Fane, Morgan and Anderson also spoke of him in terms of the highest eulogy. The summing up of the evidence occupied the 11th, and Colonel Conway's address was by permission of the Court read by Colonel Brunton. Its composition is very highly spoken of—it proceeded to analyse and comment upon the evidence in a masterly style—acquitted Captain Thomas of any betrayal of confidence, but severely condemned Mr. Macleod, with whom the conversation had been purely of a confidential nature. Colonel Smythe was to have rejoined at 12 o'clock on Monday last.—*Madras Herald, Oct.* 15.

CALCUTTA.

The *Experiment* Flat, which started on Friday last for Allahabad, under tow of the Steamer *Lord William Bentinck*, had a freight of 30 lackhs of rupees in silver and 60 packages of Medical Stores, besides many private packages and parcels. She also carried the following passengers :—Mrs. Husband, Colonel Becher, Major Spiller and his son, Captain Allock, Messrs. Potts and Western of the Engineers, Ensign Becher, Mr. Scott of the Madras Civil Service, and Lieutenant Samler commanding the Escort. Let my one calculate what the transport of the above freight and passengers would have cost in the time and money under the old system, and, though he be the most prejudiced enemy to the Steam Establishment, he must admit the great economy and vast superiority of the new mode of conveyance by those river boats.—*Calcutta Courisr October,* 7.

AGRA.

A "chase," we can scarcely call it an expedition, is we understand to be commenced against the shekhuwatees, a horde of marauders who infest chiefly the Judhpoor state, though occasionally exercising their vocation in the Company's territories.—*Mofussul Ukhbar, Oct.* 11.

AJMEER—A deputation from the Joudhpoor Raja, consisting of the principal persons of the Court have waited on the British Resident with offers of reconciliation and peace. The deputation stated that they were empowered to recognize the feudal superiority of the Company, whose vassal their master acknowledged himself to be, and that they were also authorized to make a total liquidation of the accumulated arrears of the tribute claimed from the Joudhpoor state, and further to defray the expenses incurred in fitting out the force about to proceed to their country. To the requisition to give up the robbers and murderers which have sought an asylum in Joudhpoor a decided negative was given. The raja declared his determination to observe inviolably the barbarian virtue of hospitality and to extend his protection to those who sought it. He represented that it was alike opposed to the tenets of his religion and to the custom observed by his ancestors, who ever approved themselves the shelter and shield of the distressed, a term which His Highness with a little latitude applies to the respectable fraternity of Thugs he harbours.—— To these representations the resident replied that the alternative of unlimited acquiescence in the three following propositions. Expressed contrition for his past offences. Payment of all the expences incidental on the equipment of the Western Army, and a surrender of all the Thugs in his territories; or of war, was alone left to the Raja. The deputation repeated their wish to subscribe to the two first but declined to accede to the third. The conference was then broken up, the deputation retired to Joudhpoor and the resident apprized his Government of the result of it.—*Ibid.*

JOUDHPOOR—Thirty thousand horsemen have already assembled at the call of the raja, and numbers ready for war and plunder are daily flocking to his standard. Some of the Pistols of the host talk of victory and anticipate a second Tonga, while others with more reflection and despondency see nothing but defeat and a recurrence of the disastrous days of Putun and Mairta where, "says 'Tod," Rajpoot courage was heroically, but fruitlessly displayed against European tactics and unlimited resources."

The old men, those whose age qualify them to act as seers, predict victory to the Furingees and moralize on the decay of Rajpoot strength in modern days. The present race they delight to contrast with the band of heroes, who at the field of Tonga with sword in hand, cut thro' the dense battalions of De Boigne, and seized his numerous and well appointed Artillery.—*Ibid.*

INDORE—Hurree Rao Holkar in direct oppositions to the Non-Interference policy has made a demand for assistance from the Company, to enable him to quell some of the insurgent and discontented chiefs, who have long opposed his elevation to the guddee, and whose opposition has lately begun to assume a more than ordinarily threatning appearance, perplexing Hurree with fear of change. It is not stated whether the requisition had been attended to.—*Ibid.*

JUEPOOR—An assembly of all the chief sirdars of the city was convened to listen to the contents of a letter received from Belas raee, His Highness' agent at the Ajmere residency. The letter set forth that unless the Raja could effect a proper settlement of his country, suppress robbery and pillag; e and forbear to harbour thieves and murderers, it would be incumbent on the British Government to undertake it themselves. The Raja was considerably embarrased at this intimation and expressed great apprehension that he would ultimately be deprived of his country. He deferred giving an answer until he had reflected maturely on the best measures to be pursued. A communication from the Ooodipoor and Beekaneer Rajas was received, requesting that a time and place be quickly appointed for holding an interview. The ceremony of tying a knot on the string which records the number of years of the Maharaj's age, was gone thro'.—*Ibid.*

EUROPEAN INTELLIGENCE.

DEBATES AND PROCEEDINGS IN PARLIAMENT.

RENEWAL OF THE COERCION BILL.

The House of Peers resolved itself into a Committee on this bill on Monday; and a brief discussion arose; in the course of which, Earl Grey stated, that for the same reasons which had induced Ministers to omit the Courts-martial clauses from the bill, namely, the readiness of juries to convict the guilty, the Change of Venue Bill would also be suffered to drop. The clauses in the bill were agreed to, with a verbal amendment; the report ordered to be received on Tuesday, and the House resumed.

In the House of Commons, on the same evening, Lord Althorpe laid on the table some papers relating to the state of Ireland, and moved that they be printed. He took the opportunity of stating that Mr. Littleton had good grounds for making the communication which he had made to Mr. O'Connell, that Ministers had not then made up their minds as to the renewal of the Coercion Act. He also mentioned, that Mr. Littleton on Saturday, tendered his resignation to Earl Grey; who, however, declined accepting it. Mr. Littleton then held office at the request of Ministers; who were extremely unwilling to be deprived of his valuable services, on such insufficient grounds as had caused his resignation.

Mr. HUME avowed his belief that Mr. Littleton had acted with strict honour and with kind feeling in his communication to Mr. O'Connell; which communication no person could doubt to have been quite correct. He extremely regretted the hesitatiag conduct of Ministers in regard to this Coercion Act, as on all other subjects. He had indeed heard, that it was merely in obedience to the will of one person in the Cabinet that the bill was to be renewed; and that his colleagues had submitted to that person under the threat, that if he were not supported on this occasion, he would resign. This was the statement in every one's month; and, if incorrect, Lord Althorp might contradict it.

Lord ALTHORP said, that the Cabinet was bringing forward this measure. It was inconsistent with his duty to give a reply to the question asked by Mr. Hume as to their having been only one member originally in favour of renewing the Coercion Act.

Mr. ROBINSON remarked, that it was plain, from Lord Althorp's reply, that Mr. Hume had good grounds for what he had stated. He hoped that the whole of the correspondence of Lord Wellesley would be brought forward.

Lord ALTHORP admitted, that a discussion respecting the renewal of the bill had taken place between Ministers and Lord Wellesley; but many of the letters which had passed were private communications, and ought not to be produced. Lord Wellesley was now decidedly in favour of renewing the Act.

Mr. O'CONNELL strongly urged the production of all the correspondence. Lord Wellesley was in favour of the bill on the 18th of April, as appeared from the papers laid before Parliament; he was opposed to the renewal, as appeared from Mr. Littleton's communication to him, on the 20th of June; and now Lord Althorp stated, that he was decidedly in favour of it on the 7th of July. It was extremely important to ascertain how this change of opinion had been brought about in the mind of the Viceroy. Mr. O'Connell then ridiculed the proceedings by which Ministers pretended to give the promised relief to Ireland.

The Reform Bill itseft was only an insult to Ireland, from the difference between it and the English and Scotch Reform Bills. Then they had got rid of, prospectively, ten bishops! he thought that measure nothing when it was proposed, and he voted against the third reading of it. He was told of the 1,000,000*l.* voted for the Irish clergy: they had sent it back. Then they were told of the reduction of the vestry cess, which it now appeared had dwindled down to a paltry 35,000*l.* a year: that was, according to the right honourable Secretary, one of the boons granted to Ireland. Last came the measure of the Government for settling the tithe question: they brought in that bill in February, they altered it in March, again they altered it in April, ditto in May, ditto in June; and now in July, after all this chopping and changing, it had become such a nondescript, that there was no knowing what to make of it. Oh, he forgot—they had given them a Commission to inquire into the state of the Church of Ireland, they had given them the benefit of ten Commissioners, who had not yet set out on their travels. That was all that had been done for Ireland. They issued a Commission, they were afraid to affirm the principle which some of them asserted the very isnuing of that Commission acknowledged. They had set up a Commission which would be the ridicule and scorn of the whole country.

He concluded by moving that the papers laid on the table by Lord Althorp should be laid befose a Select Committee.

Mr. FERGHISS O'CONNOR seconded this amendment.

Lord ALTHORP opposed it.

The papers which he had laid upon the table of the House contained such information as the Government conceived would justify the propositon which it was their intention to bring before the House; and if, on consideration of their countries, it should appear to the House that these documents afforded no jutification for the measure, then of course it would not agree to its adoption.

Mr. H. GRATTAN supported the amendment. and vehemently denounced the conduct of Ministers. He denied that Lord Wellesley was qualified to give an opinin as to the state of Ireland.

The information had been obtained from the police officers, for Lord Wellesley had never been further than the county of Wicklow since his appointment. He knew personally nothing of the state of the country; and with respect to the sources from which his information was derived, the police-officers, Mr. Grattan could state that it had been his lot to examine many of them in the county of Monaghan, and he had no reluctance in stating that he would not believe them upon their oaths. That they were unleserving of credit, he should be able to prove, when the debate on the bill came regularly before the House. He could also prove, that they had not possessed the courage to enforce the orders which were contained in the letters transmitted to them by Mr. Stanley, at the time that gentleman filled the office of Secretary for Ireland.

Mr. FERGUS O'CONNOR spoke on the same side.

Mr. ELLICE admitted, that there was some justification for the warmth exhibited by the Irish Members; but maintained, that no advantage could be derived from sending the papers to a committee up stairs, who could only report their opinion upon their contents to the House, where they could be well examined in the first instance.

Mr. HUME reminded Mr. Ellice, that Mr. Grattan had declared he was prepared with evidence to disprove the statements of the police; but this he could not do, if the papers were merely printed and laid upon the table. He contended for the reasonableness of the request of the Irish Members, that due time and every opportunity should be allowed for the examination of the papers, on the faith of whose contents such a bill as the Coercion Bill was to be renewed.

Mr. LITTLETON spoke a few words in defence of the credibility of the police.

Mr. O'RELLY mentioned, that Mr. Charles Grant, when Irish Secretary, refused to renew the Insurrection Act in 1822, on the faith of police reports.

Mr. CHALES GRANT said, that he certainly had done so; but subsequently, when unconnected with Government, he had voted for the renewal of the Insurrection Act, being convinced of its necessity.

Sir ROBERT PEEL called for more information respecting the causes of Lord Wellesley's change of opinion. He said Lord Wellesley did not lightly form his opinion: and enlarged in praise of his Lordship's firmness of character and mental power, as exhibited in India and in Ireland. He read an extract from his letter of the 15th April; and remarked upon the earnestness of tone and peculiarly strong language in which he called for the renewal of the bill. He also dwelt upon the extreme impropriety and indiscretion of the Ministerial communications with Mr. O'Connell, who had been expressly pointed at in the King's Speech as a dangerous disturber of the peace of Ireland. He should, however, vote against the amendment, because he did not wish to delay the progress of the bill.

Mr. LITTLETON repeated the assurance that Lord Wellesley's opinions were the same now as on the 15th April.

After receiving the despatch of that date, as the confidential friend as well as the official adviser of the Lord-Lieutenant, he wrote to Lord Wellesley to inquire whether his opinion was firmly fixed in favour of the continuation of the three clauses which prohibited public meetings. A communication ensued, the substance of which he did not feel justified in divulging; but it was enough to say, that the result was a general union of all parties in the opinion that the Coercion Act should be renewed as had been proposed.

Mr. SHEIL said, the question was, did the Lord-Lieutenant change his mind?

Ministers relied on the opion of Lord Wellesley when it was in favour of coercion; what weight was attached to it when it was pronounced against coercion? The House had not the whole truth before them. The Government kept back the documents. There was nothing like having all the postulates, all the data, before you proceeded with argument. He wanted the letters. Granting that the despatch of the 18th of April was in favour of coercion, was not that of the 18th of June against it? The Ministry had given the country but a miserable fragment of that despatch. It had been said by Sir Robert Peel that it was too late in the session to commence an inquiry. What! was it really too late for a complete investigation? Was it too late on the 7th of July to do justice to Ireland? If it was too late, it was not for want of warning. There was no ground for renewing one part of the bill without the other.

Mr. LITTLETON observed, that Lord Wellesley had never turned his attention to the effects of the Court-martial clause, because it had never once been found necessary to call it into operation.

Mr. O'CONNELL—"Good God! is Ireland to be governed by a man who has never turned his attention to the effects of the Court-martial clause? Lord Wellesley, then, had never turned his semi-regal attention to the Court-martial clause! It was said it it was too late to do justice to Ireland by a Committee; but it was not too late to pass the Coercion Bill!"

Here were the Ministers with their ready majority to carry their Coercion Bill. But he would tell them that they would save something even in point of time. Would he not discuss the question debate after debate, word by word, sentence by sentence? Must he not make a motion for the production of the papers? Did the House think that he would allow himself to sit idly there? Did they think that any one of the Irish Members would not put the House to the test over and over again? "Oh you are the descendants of the old Whigs, the enemies of despotism, the friends of constitutional freedom, —you have freedom for your banner, but tyranny for your principle."

On the 20th of June, they were told there would be no Coercion Bill. The individual members of the Cabinet, counting them one by one were against it.

"And yet, because the First Lord of the Treasury was opposed to you—because he was obstinate, and the prolonged existence of the Administration was threatened—because you preferred your places to your political consistency, you are contented to be branded, as I brand you now with being the tyrants, the miserable despots, of a country which you believe has not at the moment the power to resist. But let me tell you, that there is no braver nation in the wide world than the Irish nation. I may be taunted—I am liable to the taunt, and it is a perfectly safe taunt for all who may chose to put it forth—but the courage of the nation stands high and pure, above all doubt secure from any imputation. (*Cheers.*) I wish to God, however, that I could reconcile it to my conscience—I wish to God I could, but I cannot, reconcile it to my conscience again to place myself in mortal conflict with a fellow-creature, and that the survivor of us was to have the Government of Ireland; and I tell you that then I had rather die than let you pass this act."

The police-officers were persons who had a direct interest it the renewal of this act. They were false witnesses. A grosser falsehood never stained human lips than that the Coercion Bill was necessary for the tranquility of Ireland.

Lord Wellesley was most anxious to have it re-enacted. He used nearly all the superlatives in the English language to express his anxiety. And Lord Wellesley was praised for his manlines—his manliness! "But I disdain describing him! I have seen him at his levee! Oh, it is too bad that the liberties of Ireland should be made to rest upon such a will-o'-the wisp. He is not in your Cabinet. No, you never had been there! No, he is fit for that; but he is good enough to make tyrannical laws for Ireland. On the 18th of April you were for the bill—the whole bill. Why are you not so now? The honourable Member for Edinburgh and the honourable Member for Kirkcudbright are amongst you." The abandonment of the Court-martial clause, was nothing more or less than the truckling of one part of the Administration to another. If the Attorney-General had agreed to press the Court-martial clause, a Dudley fete might have taken place in Edinburgh. There are one hundred Irish voters in Edinburgh.

The ATTORNEY-GENERAL—"They all voted against me."

Mr O'CONNELL—"They did right. They voted against the prosecutor of the *True Sun*. They voted against one who was a member of that Administration which passed the Coercion Bill; and I have no doubt many honest Scotchmen voted against you also." Would the Radicals of Cambridge have voted for the new Secretary for the Colonies if they knew that the bill was to be renewed by this Liberal Government at the request of a Polonius or a Lord-Lieutenant?

Mr. ABERCROMBY stated his readiness, when the proper time came, to state the reasons which had induced him to be in favour of the bill; which, he begged the House not to reject by the side-wind of granting a Committee of inquiry.

Lord JOHN RUSSELL thought that Mr. O'Connell's speech, and the temper which he had that night evinced, proved the necessity of renewing the Coercion Bill.

Lord STORMONT distinctly asked Lord Althorp why it was that Lord Wellesley had changed his opinion?

Mr. ROBINSON also pressed for this information

Lord ALTHORP said—

. . . . . On the 20th of June the discussion then going forward between Mr. Littleton and the Lord-Lieutenant of Ireland was in such a state as led the former to believe, and justified him as acting on that belief, to state that he thought the noble Marquis had changed his opinions upon the subject of the Coercion Bill. Lord Althorp, however, was not prepared to say that the correspondence had left the same impression on his mind that it had on Mr. Littleton's respecting the alteration in Lord Wellesley's opinions. But he could easily understand how a man, anxious to lead another into his views, would naturally interpret every thing in that way which was most favourable to the object he had at heart.

The letters were private and could not be produced.

Sir ROBERT PEEL declared that, it was idle to contend that letters on great public questions were to be made inviolably private by a mark.

Surely, the very letters which were on the table bore all the show of private communications. One ended—"in haste, most truly, your well-wisher, Hussey Vivian;" there were letters beginning with "My dear Ellice," and so on.

Sir Robert read some other extracts from the letters, to prove the familiar tone in which they were written.

Mr. ELLICE—"Those letters were published with the consent of the parties by whom they were written.

Sir ROBERT PEEL—"That will quite satisfy me!"

He had read what the noble Marquis had written on the 18th of April; he had heard what the noble Marquis's opinion was upon the 7th of July; but he was told that on the 20th of June the noble Marquis held a different opinion. They had Lord Wellesley's opinion in favour of the renewal of the act. They asked for his opipion against it! (*Loud cheers.*) Would they refer to the Marquis Wellesley, and ask him if he had any objection to the production of that part of his correspondence with the right honourable Secretary which might bear upon this point. (*Continued cheering.*)

Sir GEORGE MURRAY said, that if this bill were for Scotland, instead of for Ireland, nothing would induce him to vote for it without inquiry; but he should follow the example of Sir Robert Peel, and vote against the amendment, because if inquiry were granted, it would be impossible to pass the bill this session. (*Laughter.*)

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The House divided, after a few brief observations from Mr. O'Dwyer, Mr. Roynayne, Mr. Lefroy, and others: for the amendment, 73; against it, 156; majority for printing the papers, and against the Committee of inquiry, 83.

The original motion was then agreed to.

On Tuesday, in the House of Peers, Earl Grey said he wished to postpone the order of the day for taking into consideration the report on the bill.

The Duke of BUCKINGHAM said, they had been told of the absolute necessity of pressing forward the renewal of this bill; and now a delay was requested. He was surprised that no reasons or explanation were given for this mode of proceeding.

Earl GREY said, that if the safety of the country would be affected by twenty-four hours' delay, then an explanation ought to be given. But he thought that the Duke of Buckingham would not suppose a short delay would have such an effect, or that he would ask for it without sufficient reasons. Those reasons, however, he would decline stating.

The Duke of BUCKINGHAM again pressed for the reasons for this delay; but received no reply from Earl Grey; and the order of the day was postponed.

2. DISSOLUTION OF THE MINISTRY.

On Wednesday, the order of the day for receiving the report on the Irish Coercion Bill being read,

Earl GREY advanced to the table, and said "I rise, my Lords"—Here he paused, evidently much affected, and unable to proceed: the Opposition Peers cheered repeatedly, in order to give Earl Grey time to recover his self-possession; but after several attempts to go on, he sat down amidst general cheering.

The Duke of Wellington then presented several petitions from places in Ireland in favour of the Establishad Church. After which,

Earl GREY again rose, and said that he really felt quite ashamed of the weakness and excess of feeling he had shown on this occasion; but he trusted that the difficult duty he had to perform would be received as an apology for it. In rising to move that the report on the Coercion Bill should be received, he had to state, that he no longer acted as Minister of the Crown, but as an individual member of Parliament. He should be unworthy of the place he had held if he shrunk from supporting as an individual a measu e which as a Minister he had declared to be essential to the safety of the country. But as he had formerly stated at length the grounds on which he asked their Lordship' concurrence in this measure. be would not detain them longer upon that subject, but would proceed to explain the circumstances which had led to his resignation.

It could not be necessary for him to refer to their Lordships' recollection of what had recently passed in this House on questions put to him, and the answers which he had given. He was asked whether in any communication that had taken place upon this subject with a person known for the strong part he took in the affairs of Ireland. —he did not wish to use any other terms with respect to that individual, who must be sufficiently known to their Lordships,—he was asked whether he had been any party to those communications? In answer to this question, he then stated, and he now repeated, that these communications were not only made without his concurrence, but without his knowledge. *(Cheering.)* If he had been previously apprised of the matter, there was no power of influence which he possessed that he would not have used to prevent them; well knowing, as the event had proved, that communications of any description, even of the slightest nature. could not be safely made in that quarter; and being strongly impressed with a conviction that it was not for the public benefit or the advantage of the Government to make any communication whatever in that quarter. *(Loud cheers.)* What he had next to state to their Lordships, after having already repeated his opinion of the necessity of this measure, was, that from the time his opinion of the necessity was formed on the grounds before mentioned, it had never for one moment suffered the slightest change or variation. Up to the 23d of June, he had no reason to belive that any doubt was anywhere entertained on the subject. It was the opinion of himself and his colleagues, an opinion formed in consequence of the communications which they had received, that the renovation of this act was indispensably required. He had himself instructed the Attorney-General to frame a bill for its renewal, which bill was now on their Lordships' table. But on the 23d of June a new state of things occurred. It was exceedingly painful to him to go into a statement of circumstances of which nothing ought ever to have been heard; but the fault was not his, and if by imprudence those circumstances had been brought before the public, and had produced results such as they had given rise to, it was necessary that he, standing there charged with an imperious duty to his Sovereign and the country, and responsible for his own character—it was necessary that he should state to their Lordships in the clearest manner, and without disguise, every thing that had taken place. On the 23d of June, he received from the Lord-Lieutenant of Ireland a private and confidential letter (which certainly he would never have mentioned out of the the Cabinet, had he not been obliged to do so by the necessity of the circumstances in which he was placed), which did appear to give a new view of the subject, and which he therefore laid before his colleagues. That letter appeared to have been produced, not so much by any original view entertained by that illustrious person, of whom he could not speak too highly, and who in this matter as well as in every other he was sure acted from the most conscientious desire to discharge his public duty. He repeated that the letter in question appeared to have been produced, not so much by that illustrious person's original view of the state of Ireland, as by certain considerations suggested to him by others—he again repeated, without his knowledge or privity —certain considerations rather effecting the political state of this country than that of Ireland.

He by no means concurred with this view; and by return of post, wrote to Lord Wellesley, stating his opinion. A correspondence ensued; and the result of that correspondence undoubtedly was, that Lord Wellesley did express an opinion that if it would promote the accomplishment of other objects, the omission of the three clauses might be resorted to without endangering the safety of Ireland, and more particularly if by means of the omission an extension of time might be procured. From this view, which Lord Wellesley submitted for consideration, but not as a recommendation, Earl Grey dissented; and the question was then discussed in the Cabinet.

He now came to circumstances that ought never to have been made known, and which it was equally inconvenient and painful to advert to: but no choice remained to him. It had been already stated, and it could now no longer be concealed, that there existed considerable difference of opinion on the subject in the Cabinet; but it was ultimately determined that the bill should be introduced in that form in which he had brought it forward, and that determination had since received the full and entire concurrence of their Lordships. So far the case was clear. A new practice, a novel circumstance which had never before occurred in the political annals of the country, now took place. Questions had arisen, and disclosures were called for, of what passed in the confidential communications between Ministers themselves and persons holding subordinate offices. This was perfectly unjustifiable; the *result* of such communications was all that Parliament was entitled to learn—the result, founded on sufficient documentary evidence. But to ask, in the various discussions that arose in Parliament, what were the different opinions and views of various members of the Gonernment under difficult circumstances—to require minute information on this head—would be to demand what, if complied with, would render the task of government, a task at all times difficult, and at no time more difficult than at present, absolutely impossible. It was with considerable pain and surprise that he had heard it stated by those who he thought ought to be anxious, above and apart from all party considerations, to preserve the peace and tranquillity of Ireland.—anxious to preserve the first privileges of government, and reluctant to throw impediments in the way of a necessary act,—it was with the greatest astonishment he heard that those individuals had supported a motion of an honourable Member of the other House of Parliament, calling for the production of documents which were not of a nature to be laid before the House. Those were letters not addressed to that Minister of the Crown with whom the Lord-Lieutenant of Ireland stood naturally connected: they were of a secret and confidential nature, addressed to himself; and through whatever channel the knowledge of them might have transpired, he did not think that altered the state of the case, or that their production could be properly called for.

He now came to the circumstances of Mr. Littleton's communication with Mr. O'Connell.

He had already stated, that that communication was made without his knowledge or concurrence; and that it had been dictated by an extreme imprudence which it was hardly possibly to imagine he was compelled to admit. However, the effect of that communication was, that a Member of the other House of Parliament having been put in possession of the facts referred to, did make use of them for the purpose of bringing a charge against the Government for not producing the necessary documents on the subject of the protection Bill. Further, Ministers were charged with a breach of faith, followed by vacillation and inconsistency; and the production of private documents was called for, contrary to all precedent and propriety. The consequence of this was, that his noble friend the Chancellor of the Exchequer, —he had his Majesty's permission to state these facts, and he would not state more than was absolutely necessary,—the noble Lord who conducted the affairs of Government in the House of Commons, and who was one of those most fully impressed with the opinion entertained by the Lord-Lietnenant of Ireland, and who felt how much of the ground on which this bill had been proposed was swept from under him, —his noble friend felt, in consequence of what had passed in the House of Commons on the night before, that he could not with satisfaction to himself or the Government continue in the situation which he had hitherto occupied. The consequence was that yesterday morning he received a letter from the noble Lord, containg his resignation; and having subsequently, in a personal interview with his noble friend, ascertained that the resolution was final and unalterable, he transmitted the resignation to his Majesty.

In then became necessary for him to consider what he himself should do. At the close of last session it had been his anxious with to retire; but he yielded to the strong and united represention of his collegues and remained. When the late secessions from the Cabinet occurred, he again wished to give up his post; but again the representation of his colleagues, and of a large body of gentlemen in the House of Commons, prevailed upon him to retain it,—notwithstanding he felt the separation from his colleagues most painfully, and *still* regretted the loss of the Duke of Richmond and the Earl of Ripon. Feeling how unable be was to continue to discharge the duties of his offices, he then made up his mind to retire, as he would have been justified in retiring. He had completed his seventeeth year in March last; and though, at his age, being blessed with good health, he might be able to conduct the affairs of the country in ordinary times, yet, in such times as these, a person arrived at that age was unequal to so great a charge. The places, however, of those who seceded were filled up; and he was in hopes that the Administration would go on at least until the measures before Parliament were completed.

Then came this new state of affairs, which had deprived him of the assistance of his noble friend the Chancellor of the Exchequer, the leading member of Government in the Commons—the individual on whom his whole confidence rested, whom he considered as his right arm, and without whose assistance he felt it impossible for the Government to go on. Former breaches had considerably weakened the Government; this new breach placed it in a situation in which he could not well hope to return to his place at its head, with any view to serve the Crown or the country effectually, or to any useful purpose. On receiving his noble friend's resignation, therefore, he saw no alterrative, but felt impelled by irresistible necessity to tender his own to his Majesty at the same time. Those resignations had been accepted by his Majesty; and he now stood there discharging the duties of office only till such time as his Majesty could supply his place.

He hoped that in this last scene of his political life, he should experience their Lordship's indulgence. He never would have held his office at all could he have prevailed upon the Marquis of Lansdowne to take it and form a Cabinet. He had stated every thing candidly, and would disguise nothing. He called for a just and even kind consideration of the difficult circumstances in which he had been placed. He described the state of affairs, foreign and domestic, at his accession to office. He asserted that in every point of view it had been materially improved; and that his pledges to maintain peace abroad, and to prosecute Parliamentary Reform and economical administration at home, had been fully redeemed. The patronage of the Crown had been reduced to an extent which their Lordships might deem inexpedient; and being no longer Minister, he was bound to admit his fear was that they had gone too far. He alluded to the suppression of Political Unions without resorting to extraordinary laws; to the great reduction in taxation; to the East India, West India, and Bank Charter Bills; and to the pending measure for amending the Poor Laws. The Irish Church Bill was also a salutary measure.

He had been attacked on one side for not going far enough and on the other hand he was assailed for going too far. His situation had not been an enviable one, standing there as he did, deprived of the natural support which a Minister of the Crown had a right to expect. Fettered and crippled as it was, Government had done all that lay in its power; much more during its short tenure of office, than had ever been done before in the space of half a century for the improvement of the social condition of the country. The Administration had to contend with the accumulated evils of ages, with respect to which, till now, no sufficient reform had been applied. It was under the circumstances enumerated, and beneath a pressure which he had not power to meet, that he had resigned the trust reposed in him by his Majesty.

He had been charged with providing for numerous relations and connexions out of the public purse. No Minister was less justly liable to such a reproach.—

The entrance of any person in any way, however distantly connected with his family, into any office connected with Government, was always set down to his account. Now, he left once with a fortune not more than sufficient to support his rank and station in society, charged as he was with the maintenance of a numerous family, and certainly with a fortune not improved by the emoluments of place. He left office, not retaining one shilling of the public money, either for himself or for any of his connexions. Of his numerous relations and connexions, some had undoubtedly been placed in situations under Government; but all their situations had been laborious. He asked those who had joined in casting these imputations upon him to look at the appointments which had been made in his family, and to say whether there was one of them which was not justified by the conduct of the party filling it? He asked the individuals in office under whom those parties had acted, whether they were not parties likely and proper to have been selected for their situations, even if they had had no connection with him? He appealed from the malice of his accusers to the justice of the country, and asked whether the mere circumstance of their connection with him was to be considered as a disqualification for their entrance into the public service? It had been said that he was an enemy to the Church; and an attempt—an ineffectual attempt, he believed, it would turn out to be—had been made to raise against him the cry of "the Church is in danger." Now the measures which he had promoted with regard to the Church had emanated out of a sincere anxiety to benefit and improve the state of the Church in his situation as head of the Government, he had had some Church patronage to dispose of. He would ask the members of the Right Reverend Bench, whether in his disposal of it, they had seen any person to say that his object was not to fill vacant benefices with persons well qualified to discharge their duties? *(Loud cheers from the Bishops.)* When he said that on leaving office he should not leave behind him any one of his connexions receiving the public money, he had, perhaps, gone a little too far; for he recollected that he had a very near and dear relation, a Bishop of the Church of England. He would appeal to his Right Reverend Colleagues, whether that prelate was not qualified for the ministry which he held in the Church *(Loud cheers from various parts of the House.)* That, however, was not his appointment. The bishopric of Hereford became vacant in may 1832, at a time when the end of his Administration appeared to be approaching. In point of fact, at the time when he thought that he was taking leave of his most gracious master as a Minister, his Majesty, as a gracious mark of the approbation and confidence with which he had honoured him, desired that Dr. Grey should be appointed to the vacant bishopric. That gracious command it was not for him to resist. He had since added to the revenues of that see, by the recommendation of his Majesty, those of a stall in the Cathedral Church of Westminster. That, he thought, would not be objected to, when it was recollected that there was not a single Bishop in possession of a small see who did not derive an addition to his income from some living being attached to it. One of his first acts, on coming into office was to assist in making an arrangement of a similar nature for the Bishop of Exeter, who had certainly never been a political friend to him, but who appeared in strict justice to have a right to it, in order to fulfil the arrangements made with him upon his appointment to the see. From these two pieces of preferment his Right Reverend relation would possess an income of more than 4,000*l* a-year; which, in reforming the Irish Church, their Lordships did not think too much for an Irish Bishop.

Earl Grey then stated, that he could not advise their Lordships to proceed at present with measures of general policy, such as the Coercion and Irish Church Bills; which he therefore would propose should be laid aside till a new Administration was formed, when they should have his best support. But the Poor-Law Bill was not a Government or political measure; and he therefore would propose its second reading on Friday next. In conclusion, Earl Grey said—

He might have much to account for to their Lordships and the country with respect to the ability with which he had discharged his duty; but he trusted that he should stand excused in their opinion for any departure from the principles which he had professed, or for any deviation from that conduct which became a man of honour. *(General cheering.)* Whilst he had health and strength left him, he should continue to attend in his place in Parliament as an individual Peer, and to assist in promoting those views which he conceived to be the best for the general interests of the country. *(Loud and general cheering.)*

The Duke of WELLINGTON rose and said, that if Earl Grey had confined himself to statement of the reasons which led to his resignation of office, he should not have thought it necessary to address their Lordships, but he had referred to other topics, and the conduct of former Administrations: and the Duke would therefore say a few words. Earl Grey had clearly stated the reason for his own resignation, but he left untouched the reasons of Lord Althorps's, which led to it. If ever there were men bound by a kind of necessity to remain in their Sovereign's service, those men were Earl Grey and his colleagues. He admitted that secrecy in all confidential correspondence should be preserved: but Sir Robert Peel, whose speech had been presented as embarrassing to Ministers, and consequently leading to their resignation only wished to know what passed between Lord Wellesley and the Government relative to the renewal of the Coercion Bill. This he was justified in asking: for it appeared there did exist a correspondence on the subject. Why should Earl Grey take upon himself to decide what papers it was necessary for Parliament to see? His conviction was, that Earl Grey and Lord Althorp had no grounds whatever for quitting his Majesty's service. The Duke then referred to the circumstances which occurred about the time of his own secession from office; and denied that either at home or abroad they were at all improved. The principle of non-intervention especially had been grossly violated by Ministers. He also considered that it was premature in Earl Grey to congratulate himself on the success of either his East India or Slavery Bill. He concluded with saying that he would support the second reading of the Poor-Laws; that he had always been anxious to support Earl Grey, and never opposed him but with pain.

Lord BROUGHAM said, that after the Duke of Wellington's speech, he felt it necessary to make a few observations. He rose with very different feelings from those which appeared to actuate the noble Duke. He thought that the feeling with which he had himself listened to Earl Grey's speech had been universally shared in the House, and he thought still that a great majority felt as he did. He was surprised that, at this particular moment, the Duke of Wellington could have entered into a consideration of the state of parties but there was no accounting for tastes. After passing an eulogium on the private and public character of Earl Grey, Lord Borougham stated his own determination *to sacrifice comfort, ease of mind, and personal convenience—to endure all personal privation, rather than abandon the service of his Sovereign!* "After this," said Lord Brougham, with very marked and p culiar emphasis, "I need not add, that I have not resigned." *(Loud laughter from the Opposition Peers.)* After a general defence of the measures of Ministers, Lord Brougham proceeded to remark upon the assertion of the Duke of Wellington that he had always supported Earl Grey when he could—

"I do not know why the noble Duke considered it necessary to stand so much on the defensive as he did to-night. Perhaps he thought that, by defending himself he could the more easily attack my noble friend; but certainly he was more on the defensive to-night than ever he was since 1811. My noble friend did not attack the noble Duke nor his party. He merely said, that it had been his misfortune to meet often with opposition in this House. 'But,' says the noble Duke, 'we did not support the noble Earl when we could not support him; and we opposed him only when we disapproved of his measures or differed from him in opinion. That was all my noble friend said. He said that it augmented the difficulties which he had to encounter; that wherever your Lordships could differ with him, you did ("*No no!*" *from the Opposition.*) Your Lordships will not say this: but since I have been dragged forward to say a few words in the defence of my noble friend on this occasion, I will say that your Lordships, on very many occasions—conscientiously no doubt, and not with the view of opposing the Government—did differ with my noble friend and his Administration. In the measures, for instance, brought forward for the improvement of the laws, and in the Local Courts Bill, you did not oppose the preliminary stages—you did not oppose going into Committee; you deemed it expedient, because you differed in opinion regarding them that they should be looked into and thoroughly examined; you took pains to sift them, and did not make up your judicial minds, excepting so far as to support all the provision of the bills till they arrived at the last stage—till the twelfth hour. Then was there such a bustle, such numbers of despatches, such numbers of couriers running to and fro, such extensive correspondence by general post and by two-penny, such quantities of proxies, that the judicial business in the morning of that day was stopped from the eagerness of noble Lords to enter then, and such crowding down to the House that the very avenues to it were stopped, and I saw that the fate of my unfortunate bill was sealed. But all this anxiety on the part of your Lordships was, doubtless, not with a view of opposing the Government, but merely because you were conscientiously convinced that the measure was a bad one. All that my noble friend did was to lament that your Lordships on some occasions appeared to have made up your minds that you would not support him, even if you could."

Lord Brougham again avowed his admiration of Earl Grey's talents and character, in these words—

"I have again to say, that it was with the deepest concern and regret—and in this I am sure I shall for once have a majority of your Lordships with me—it was with the deepest regret I heard my noble friend announce that his determination to retire from the public service was final. This is a regret in which all will participate. To you and to the country at large it must be a subject of deep sorrow, that my noble friend, with his robust understanding, with his firm temper, his manly feelings, his purely honourable mind, with every quality of the head and heart in which he excels almost all the statesmen of our time with all these qualities remaining to him in as absolute perfection as ever—and I who have the happiness of knowing him in private—I who live with him in daily and almost hourly communication—I who see him unprepared (your Lordships see him in a state of perhaps greater preparation)—I can give my unhesitating, glad, and exulting testimony to the fact, that never since I have known him—which is now about thirty years—never was his intellect more perfect or his vigour and capacity more capable of holding and directing the helm of the State than that the present moment. That in the painful moment of taking leave of your Lordships in his official capacity, he should feel somewhat dispirited—that with somewhat less of bodily strength than he once had—as I have known him to complain was the case within the last year and a half—that for these reasons he should distrust his forces, and court a retirement which the whole world will hold to be premature, I consider a cruel calamity to the country of which he is one of the choicest ornaments, and one of whose most precious and valuable possesions is the public character of my noble friend." *(Cheers).*

The report was then received, and the House adjourned.

In the House of Commons, on the same evening, after some preliminary business had been gone through,

Lord ALTHORP rose and spoke as follows—

"As I am placed in a situation which render it necessary to give some explanation to the House, I have requested and obtained his Majesty's permission to make the statement I shall now have the honour to submit. When the bill for the renewal of the Coercion Act was first brought under the consideration of the Cabinet, I felt it my duty to concur in that renewal, with the omission of certain parts referring to Court-martial. I need not say that I concurred in it with the greatest reluctance, and nothing but an absolute conviction of its necessity would have induced me to do so. After that a communication of a private and confidential nature from the Lord-Lieutenant of Ireland brought the subject again under the consideration of the Cabinet. Perhaps it may be as well to say that at this time it was that my right honourable friend the Chief Secretary for Ireland suggested to me that it might be desirable to inform the honourable and learned gentleman opposite (Mr O'Connell) that the question was not yet finally settled. I saw no harm in his making that communication provided it went no further. I am bound to say, for my own justification, that I stated to my right honourable friend, that I hoped he would act with the greatest caution, and would be careful not to commit himself or the Government. The private and confidential communication of the Lord-Lieutenant of Ireland to an individual member of the Cabinet, brought the subject again under consideration in the week before last. From the nature of this communication, I was led to believe that the first clauses of the bill, those relating to meetings in both parts of Ireland were not essentially necessary necessary and might be omitted without endangering the peace of that country. Under this impression, I objected to the renewal of those clauses. (*Cheers.*) In this objection my right honourable friends the Members for Invernesshire (Mr. C. Grant), for Cambridge (Mr. S. Rice.) for Edinburgh (Mr. Abercromby), and for Coventry (Mr. E. Ellice) concurred (*Much cheering*) I need not state to the House, that we were in a minority in the Cabinet; which decided against us. The question we then had to decide was whether we should acquiesce in that decision, or break up the Government. Upon that consideration we felt it our duty to acquiesce."

Lord Althorp felt the difficulty he should be placed in when engaged in carrying the bill through the House of Commons: but when, on Thursday, he had heard the statement of Mr. Littleton, and became for the first time aware of the nature and full extent of his communication to Mr. O'Connell, he thought that the difficulty would be insuperable. The debate on Monday night convinced him that he could not continue, with credit to himself or advantage to the country, to conduct the business of Government in the House of Commons. "Accordingly," he continued.

"When I returned home, I wrote to Lord Grey, requesting him to tender my resignation, which his Majesty was graciously pleased to accept. I have the authority of my right honourable friends, already alluded to, for saying that they approve and concur in the step I took. This is the case as respects my right honourable friends and myself. I should be extremely sorry if the course I have pursued upon this occasion should not be approved by my colleagues; and I should be still more deeply grieved if I found that the large body of gentlemen who have hitherto honoured me with so much of their confidence, and to whose steady and handsome supported is owing I have been able to maintain a position for which, otherwise. my talent rendered me quite incapable—I say I should fell most deeply indeed, if they did not approve my conduct. (*Reiterated cheers from every part of the House.*) I have now made the statement I thought it necessary to submit and I have only further to say, that I continue to hold office until my successor is appointed and that I shall, of course, feel it my duty at present to conduct the ordinary business of Government in this House." (*Long-continued cheers.*)

M. LITTLETON begged to be indulged with a few words—

"No individual in Parliament ever stood in a more painful situation than I do. I committed my first error in holding communication with the honourable and learned Member opposite, without the sanction of the head of the Government. I committed a still further error in greatly exceeding, in all ill-placed confidence the licence I was permitted to assume. Nothing is easier than after accidents have led to a fatal result, to look back and discover the course it would. have been most dignified and most wise to pursue (*Cheers.*) I am now perfectly aware that the wisest thing for my own character and interests, perhaps wisest for the interests of my friends—I mean my friends in the Government—would have been, that I should have resigned my office the moment it was communicated to me that my hopes as to omission of certain clauses in the Coercion Bill were disappointed. (*Cheers.*) I never shall forget the emotion of regret with which I received that communication; but, having reflected that my resignation at that point, and at that time, might influence the conduct of others, and produce a dissolution of the Government, I had not that sense of individual importance, or perhaps sufficient courage, to take the step and to incur the risk, I therefore resolved to do that which I hope was not dishonourable. (*Cheers.*) I resolved to compromise my opinion upon this point, albeit that opinion was a strong and decided one, and to refrain from taking a line that might injure a Government of the principles of which I so cordially approved in the main. My noble friend has observed, that it was only on Thursday last that he was aware of the full extent to which I had gone in my communication with the honourable and learned Member for Dublin. I now perfectly perceive it. ("*Hear. hear!*") But be it borne in mind, that so complete and entire was my conviction, not only that the conversation would go no further, but that the objectionable clauses would be abandoned, that the importance of doing more never presented itself to my mind."

Mr. O'CONNELL said, that Mr. Littleton's statement had been received in the manner in which a candid gentleman's statement ought to be received If any blame were attributable to Mr. Littleton, it sprung from his anxiety for the tranquility of Ireland; and sooner than any blame should on that account be imputed to Mr. Littleton he would prefer taking a double share himself. He was satisfied that Mr. Littleton was incapable of deception; and he was convinced that he had acted throughout with perfect good faith—with that honesty of purpose for which he was distinguished, and with a full and entire conviction of the truth of every word that dropped from him in the course of their communication. Mr. O'Connell then appealed to the House on his own behalf, but would not attempt to vindicate himself.

"I appeal to every man who hears me, to reflect upon the trust which my unfortunate countrymen repose in me—to remember the marks of confidence I have received from them for thirty years. I should be the most abject of human beings if I had one thought that was not absorbed by the overwhelming wish to promote their interests and to advance their liberties. I ask any gentleman, before he condemns me, just to suppose England or Scotland placed in the same situation as Ireland: would he not like me, have his first anxiety to obtain for it the same portion of civil liberty enjoyed by other parts of the empire? If I have one duty more than another in this place, it is to take care that Ireland shall be your coequal. Being convinced that the noble Lord and the right honourable beside him were right in thinking certain clauses unnecessary, I acted immediately on the suggestion given to me. I do not take any merit to myself, but I should certainly be egregiously wrong if I said one word to afford a pretext to taunt the noble Lord or the right honourable gentlemen with having communicated with me. But I was not merely a private individual: I felt the confidence reposed in me so far that I did not mention a name: but I had to manage others, and to procure that they should act with me: in that management I did not utter one single word of the quarter from which I received my information; I did not give a suggestion to lead even to a conjecture who had told me that my country was not to be afflicted with the objectionable clauses (*Cheers*) If, subsequently, I found myself deceived in point of fact, not in point of intention, it was not my fault. I do not rise to vindicate myself; and I repeat, that I am willing to bear a double portion of the blame rather than that it should light upon the right honourable gentleman. I am as anxious as anybody for the maintenance of an Administration founded upon Liberal principles,—that is to say, embodying the sentiments of the four Cabinet Ministers who though with and have been named by the noble Lord. (*Cheers*) They have my entire confidence: I believe that they have the confidence of the country; and that the strongest Administration ever formed in this country would be established on the principles they individually entertain. (*Cheers from all sides.*) Acting with colleagues actuated by the same sentiments, they would give the country the benefit of the operation of the great measure of Reform with which their names will be eternally associated. (*Much cheering.*)

Mr. HUME next addressed the House—

"I am anxious to address a few words to the House at the present crisis. No man is more seriously sorry than I am for what we have just heard. I have no hesitation in frankly avowing, that although I was as zealous as any man in support of the Administration of Lord Grey, yet circumstances have recently occurred to lessen my confidence in it. But still I had one confidence—in the noble Lord. (*Continued cheers.*) I therefore feel extremely deep regret that he has been placed in a situation where he was compelled rather to resign his office than sacrifice his principles, so long and so steadily maintained. I most deeply deplore the resignation of the Liberal portion of the Cabinet."

Some confusion here arose in consequence of the retiring of many Members of the House; in the midst of which.

Lord ALTHORP again presented himself, and order was restored.

"I confined my statement (said his Lordship) to my own case, and to that of my four right honourable friends; but I believe that before this time, or at this time, Lord Grey in another place has stated that in consequence of our retirement from office, the Administration is at an end. That fact ought, perhaps, to have formed part of what I had to say."

Mr. HUME repeated his regret, and added—

"It is impossible that any Administration can be formed on any other foundation than the Liberal principles entertained by the noble Lord Attempts of a different kind may be made, but if I do not much mistake the feeling of the House and of the people, it is utterly impossible to saddle the country with a Tory Administration. (*Loud cheers from every quarter of the House.*) Again I have to express my regret at the situation in which the country is placed by the retirement of the noble Lord."

Soon afterwards the House adjourned.

The subject was resumed in the House of Peers on Thursday. The Marquis of Londonderry said, that although the Opposition benches were nearly empty, still as some Ministers were present, and the Lord Chancellor was on the woolsack, he would ask a question which his public duty compelled him to put.

They had been informed in that the noble Earl at the head of his Majesty's Government had resigned and they were told in another place that the Chancellor of the Exchequer had also tendered his resignation. The noble and learned Lord on the woolsack, it appeared, had not resigned; but some alarm had been excited by the declaration of the Chancellor of the Exchequer, that four of his colleagues had taken that step, and that the Government was virtually dissolved. He wished now, under these circumstances, to ask whether they had any Government or not, whether the dissolution of the Administration had not taken place? whether any of those individuals to whom allusion had been made still retained their situation? or whether the noble and learned Lord could inform him if, to his knowledge, any individual had been charged with the reconstruction of an Administration? He made this inquiry because, if the Ministry were dissolved, and nothing had been done to frame a new one, he should move the adjournment of the House until an Administration was formed. If his question were not satisfactorily answered, he should move "that the House adjourn until an Administration is formed,"

Lord BROUGHAM made answer.—

"I am charged, my Lords, by my noble friend who attended in his place yesterday, so give any explanation and to answer any question that might be put; to say that he shall be able to attend in his place to day, as indeed it is unnecessary for him to do, understanding as he did that nothing whatever would come on; and that after the explanation of yesterday, if he had attended, he might have been spared any application to answer question, as after stating that he was no longer a Minister of the Crown, he was no longer liable to be called upon in that manner. In answering the first part of the question of the noble Marquis I re-state what I stated yesterday, that I know of no resignation up to this moment, except those of my noble friend, lately the real and still the nominal head of the Government, and of the noble Lord the Chancellor of the Exchequer. I understand it to have been said by the noble Lord the Chancellor of the Exchequer, in the other House of Parliament, that three other persons—[*The Duke of Buckingham and Lord Londonderry said "Four"*]—take them to be four other persons approved of his conduct and motives, and concurred with him in the opinion he entertained of the propriety of his resigning the office of Chancellor of the Exchequer. I do not understand it to have been said that any one of those gentlemen had tendered his resignation. But then it has been stated that my noble friend the Chancellor of the Exchequer said, that the Government was virtually dissolved or was virtually abandoned. I understand the expression to have been this—that by that time the noble Lord at the head of the Government was virtually dissolved. Your Lordships will bear witness with me, that was an entire misapprehension; so that whoever took the trouble, and from whatever motive, be he who he may, to communicate the statement made by my noble friend in this House to the Chancellor of the Exchequer in the other House, communicated a statement the very reverse of the fact. My noble friend cautiously, purposely, manifestly, abstained from making any such statement, and stated only that he and the noble Lord the Chancellor of the Exchequer had tendered their resignations. It is imposible that my noble friend could have said that the Government was really or virtually dissolved: for then I could not have got up and stated what I did afterwards, and which if the Government had been dissolved, would have been contrary to the fact, and would have been at once contradicted by my noble friend. It was an entire misapprehension no assuch statement was made here, and none could have been made with correctness and in accordance with the fact, anywhere."

What was likely to be the result of the state of things in which accident had thus placed the Government, was quite another question. He quite agreed with those who thought it highly inexpedient that Parliament should go on without a responsible head of the Government. For that very reason, Earl Grey would not move the third reading of certain measures; though as the Poor-Law Bill was in a different situation, he would not stop the progress of that measure.

"If (continued Lord Brougham), the reconstruction of this Administration, or the formation of another, should be delayed so long that the exigencies of the public business absolutely required is to be at an end—if it should be delayed so long even, as to interfere with the good conduct of the public business, we all know that Parliament would have a right to interfere. There is no man who more readily than I should acknowledge the right of Parliament—to interfere on an occasion. I never had a doubt removed by the presence of a noble Baron on the bench near me, who, in another place, made a motion under similar circumstances,—a motion which I recollect I seconded, on occasion of the delay that took place in forming an Administration after the lamented death of Lord Liverpool But though I admit fully the right of either House of Parliament in this matter, I must say that I do not think the state of the country to be so strongly excited and so feverish as to make a delay of twenty-four hours too long. His Majesty has been placed in a state of great difficulty; and whether considering the state of parties, which no man more bitterly deplores than I do, as tending to prevent the formation of an Administration equal to the exigencies of the public service,—I say that, whether considering the state of Parliament and of the country, I do not begruds twenty-four hours—no, nor a much longer period of time, for the performance of that most responsible, that most difficult, that all but hopeless task in this state parties, since men will persist in regarding party and personal motives before public ones. ("*No no!*" *from the Opposition.*) I assure your Lordships that I do not refer to this side of the House, but I say it of all public men more or less, and I speak it in the spirit of the most unfactious conciliation. I have now answered all the questions but one of the noble Marquis."

Lord LONDONDERRY intimated that he wanted no answer to the question as to the person who was trusted with the formation of the new Ministry, which had not been answered.

"No; and that is just the question that I will not answer. ("*Hear, hear, hear!*" *and laughter.*) And what is more, neither interruptions, nor sneers, nor a good-humoured joke the force of which I can feel as much as any noble Lord present—no, nor torture itself—shall compel me to answer a question which duty to my Sovereign ought to make me refuse to answer. I should betray my duty to my Sovereign if I were to answer it. If I knew nothing, I could answer it—easily answer it (*A laugh*); but it is because I do know that I refuse to answer; and I trust that your Lordships will think that I am not guilty of any unbecoming taciturnity. I am not taciturn. I can defend myself when I am attacked, and I can defend my friends when my friends are attacked; but I think that not to preserve silence, when any thing but silence would mar the public service, defeat the end which we all wish to see speedily accomplished, and prevent his Majesty from giving that assistance which he is entitled to from all public servants, would not betoken a proper regard for the public service"

The Duke of BUCKINGHAM observed, that instead of an answer to a question, which every Peer had a right to put, Lord Brougham had delivered an eloquent speech; the amount of which was, that he knew who had received instructions to reconstruct the Ministry. but would not tell.

Lord HOWARD of EFFINGHAM here interposed. and the conversation dropped for a few minutes; but was resumed by Lerd Londonderry, who observed, that he understood Lord Brougham to say that up to that time only two individuals had resigned: was that right.

Lord BROUGHAM—"Yes, quite"

Here the conversation on the subject terminated in the Lords.

When the House of Commons met in the evening, the Speaker said—

..... The ordinary course would be to go regularly through the list of notices; but he observed that the Member for Middlesex had one standing on the state of the nation with reference to the present crisis and perhaps it would be the pleasure of the House to deal with that in the first instance. (*Cheers.*)

Mr. HUME said, that when he gave his notice, he had supposed that an entire dissolution of the Ministry had taken place; and hence his wish to move an address to the Crown on the state of the nation; but he had since received information which led him to think such a motion would be premature, and therefore he wished to withdraw it And as, in the absence of a responsible Minister, it would not be advisable to proceed with the ordinary business of the nation, and as the Beer Bill, an important measure, would come on in Committee on Friday, he would move that the House at its rising do adjourn till Monday.

Mr. WARBURTON seconded the motion.

Lord ALTHORP observed, that until his successor was appointed he was responsible Minister, ready to conduct the ordinary business of Government.

Sir EDWARD KNATCHBULL wished Lord Althorp would give to opinion as to the best course to be pursued.

Lord ALTHORP replied that every other Member was as competent to give an opinion as himself. It was not his peculiar duty to give one, and he had no especial knowledge to render it of value.

Mr. BARING remarked, that the adjournment was moved and seconded by two gentlemen adverse to the Beer Bill, and therefore he regarded their present proceedings with suspicion. But he agreed that the House ought to adjourn till Monday, for that in doing so, it would be yielding not only to precedent, but to common sense.

Mt. HENRY GRATTAN said—

.... He wished the House to testify its opinion at the present moment, and he begged honourable Members to consider, that his Majesty was about to form a new Government, and that has choice might be influenced by the sense of the Representatives of the People. They ought to take one part or the other: he for one had taken his part, and was determined to stand by the liberties of the people. He would support the Seceders from the Cabinet, though they might be only five or six. (*Cheers.*) He expressed his deep regret, that Mr. Littleton had quitted the office of Secretary for Ireland: he was satisfied that he had been dealt with unfairly and unjustly. He had the utmost respect also for Lord Althorp, and had always opposed him with the most sincere sorrow Whether the House separated till Monday or met to-morrow, he hoped that Members would not part now, without giving a cheer to the five Seceders. (*Cheers, and some laughter.*) He was glad to find that his object had been achieved; and he hoped that the sentiments of the late five Members of Government would produce an effect upon their successors in office.

The motion to adjourn till Monday was then agreed to; and the House rose.

3. IRISH COMMISSION; DISCLOSURE OF CABINET SECRETS.

In the House of Peers, on Monday, the Earl of Wicklow presented a petition from a parish in Westmeath, praying that the appointment of the Irish Ecclesiastical Commission might be revoked. He said that the whole Protestant population of Ireland were alarmed at that measure; and the more so, as it had been stated by two influential members of the Government, that the Cabinet had been divided in opinion respecting it.

Earl GREY observed, that he could not understand the last allusion of Lord Wicklow; for there was no person who had been a member of the Cabinet that could, consistently with his duty, state what had passed in the Cabinet while he was a member of it.

He should say no more than this, with a view to correct the mistaken impression of the noble Earl, that the Government had long ago received a communication from the Lord-Lieutenant on the subject; and that the Commission had not been issued till the whole matter had been maturely considered. He begged to deny in the most positive manner, that the Commission had been introduced upon a sudden impulse, and without due consideration.

The Duke of RICHMOND said, that what he had said in explanation on a former occasion, was not stated without *the express sanction of his Sovereign*

In case of that sort, when the honour of an individual was concerned, he was anxious for the House to know that he had not stated any thing without that sanction. In consequence of despatches from the Lord-Lieutenant of Ireland, recommending that a Commission should issue, the subject was taken into consideration, and from that time till he left the Cabinet, he heard nothing further about it. That he believed, was exactly what took place.

Earl GREY had no doubt the conduct of the Duke of Richmond had been perfectly correct.

If the noble Duke had received his Majesty's permission to make the statements, he could have no objection to such statements. *He himself had received no such permission;* and he felt that, under the obligation imposed upon him as a Privy Councillor, he was not at liberty to state what had passed. He was sure that the Duke of Richmond, on entering upon these statements, meant to state correctly what had passed; but his recollection upon the present occasion was not entirely correct. Earl Grey could not, however, now state more than that the question had been first brought under the consideration of his Majesty's Ministers by a despatch from the Lord-Lieutenant of Ireland; and that it was taken up again, on being maturely considered, the Commission was issued.—*Spec. June* 8.

SPECTATOR.—JULY 12.

The recent proceedings in Parliament must have prepared every one for an event which has this week occurred—the dissolution of Earl Grey's Cabinet. An Administration which possesses the confidence of the country may outlive internal dissension, A vigorous and popular Premier would find no difficulty in cashiering mutinous or disorderly subalterns, and filling up their places with active and obedient recruits. But Lord Grey's right arm had lost its strength. He had been forced to pardon and even conciliate insubordinates. He feared to dismiss Mr. Littleton, or to accept his resignation tendered on Saturday last, even after publicly denouncing his conduct in the severest terms. Why was this? Because Earl Grey feared that he should not be able to find a successor to Mr. Littleton, who was sure of a seat in the House of Commons. Here was a symptom of the weakness and unpopularity of the Ministry, not to be mistaken. The debate in the House of Commons, on Monday night, hastened the crisis. It revealed the actual state of dissension in the Cabinet on a question respecting which entire unanimity was said to prevail. Lord Althorp could not deny that there were Cabinet Ministers who voted against retaining the clauses in the Coercion Bill prohibiting public meetings. He was moreover conscious that he was among them, and voting on the bill in opposition to his own conscientious opinion. Lord Althorp has, on several occasions, displayed great intrepidity when placed in a similar predicament; but it seems that his conscience kicked at performing *this* duty; or perhaps he was glad of an opportunity to escape from a situation which must have been for some time excessively annoying to him. Whatever his motive may have been, he actually did resign on Monday night, and persisted in his resignation next morning, notwithstanding Earl Grey's endeavours to alter his resolution. Deprived of his "right arm," Earl Grey determined to resign too; and the King accepted the resignations on Tuesday,—for all that appears to the contrary, without reluctance.

The facts to which we have referred,—the communication of Mr. Littleton with O'Connell;—and the disclosure of the nature and terms of that communication, which was patially sanctioned by Lord Althorp, but never even mentioned to Earl Grey; the disclosure, by some means not avowed, of the Cabinet divisions on the subject of the Coercion Bill, and Lord Wellesley's changes of opinion as to its necessity; the consequent resignation of Lord Althorp and then of Lord Grey;—were all detailed at length in the farewell speech, as a Minister, which the Premier delivered in the House of Peers on Wednesday night. This speech is in some respects the most interesting of any which have been delivered in either House of Parliament for many years. It required no slight effort on the part of Earl Grey to accomplish his task. His nerves and voice failed him in several attempts to commence his oration; but at length he rallied, and went through it with a manly dignity, delivering some passages with much pathos.

If any evidence were wanting to convince unprejudiced persons of Earl Grey's unfitness to occupy the post of English Prime Minister in times like the present, it is abundantly supplied in this

speech. Earl Grey is *Ultimus Romanorum*—the last of the Old Whigs. He does not sympathize with the existing or the rising generation; and would never have carried the Reform Bill of 1832, had he not proposed a similar measure nearly forty years before. It would seem that his colleagues were not in the habit of confidential communication with him; for he declares that he was surprised to find any difference of opinion existing among them on the subject of the Coercion Bill: and yet he was opposed on that question by Lord Althorp, whom he speaks of almost with affection, by Mr. Charles Grant, Mr. Abercromby, and by his own brother-in-law, Mr. Ellice. It is scarcely credible that a Premier should have known so little of the opinions of his colleagues on a matter of such importance. But of the fact there can be no doubt.

Earl GREY avowed his apprehension that the patronage of the Crown had been too closely curtailed, and that economical reform had been carried too far. On this point he is at variance with the vast majority of the people of England: who fully expect, and mean to insist upon, still further extensive reductions—in the military establishments, for instance, they hope to cut down a million or two more. It would be unfair, indeed, to deny the late Administratin the credit of having reduced the expenditure and taxation of the country very considerably. At the same time, it should be remembered, when comparing their performances in this line with those of their predecessors in office, that they have had to deal with a House of Commons inclined to economy; whereas it was a well-founded complaint against the Rotten Parliaments, that they would not support the Minister in a system of retrenchment.

The Premier defended himself feebly against the charge of nepotism. He complained that the numerous promotions of hisconnexions and relatives should all be laid to his charge: but surely Earl Grey will not pretend that those fortunate persons would have been so comfortably placed, had not the head of their clan been the head of the Government also. His Lordship intimated that the whole brood would retire unpensioned from the public service along with himself; but we shall be surprised if such is the case, unless a Tory Administration is appointed. At all events, the Greys, Ponsonbys, Bulteels, &c. will have received during their tenure of office a certain portion of the public money, which but their connexion with the Premier they never would have touched: for out of the whole tribe, with the exception perhaps of Lord Duncannon and Mr. Ellice, there is not a man voted for having done the state any service; and we question whether either of those gentlemen have any intention of resiguing.

Earl Grey complained of the opposition he had encountered in the House of Peers; and we agree with his Lordship that the Peers treated him shamefully. Their petty, spiteful, shortsighted animosity against the chief ornament of their "order," and a victim to his love of it, has been conspicuous throughout the whole of his Administration. It has been truly observed, that the late Ministers "stood *between* the Aristocracy and the People Of course they had a right to look for support from the former, but they did not receive it. The consequences will be disastrous to the Peers. No future Minister will dare to occupy the position which Earl Grey has just abandoned. It is too plain that the grand defect in his policy was constant effort to conciliate the majority of the Upper House. In this he totally failed; and who, among those who have any prospect of succeeding him, can hope better fortune in following the same course? With a House of Peers constituted as the present House is, attempts atconciliation were from the first hopeless. It would have been far wiser to have created a hundred Peers, *for life*, during the Reform struggle, when Earl Grey was in fact dictator. In default of this, the force of public opinion should have been constantly brought to bear on the House of Peers, by means of popular measures, sent up in rapid succession by large majorities from the Commons. But Earl Grey, stood in the way of both these plans. He hesitated to demand a creation of Peers, and ruined his popularity by neutralizing the force and mutilating the measures of the House of Commons.

Eirl GREY is entitled to the credit he claimed for resisting all importunities to employ extraordinary measures for the suppression of Political and Trades Unions. In this respect he showed discretion, and knowledge of the English character, What a pity it is that he was averse to treating his Irish fellow subjects like beings of the same species! But he seems to have reserved his sympathies for Englishmen; and his jealousy of any attempt to interfere with their privileges when even the exercise of those privileges was attended with great annoyance to himself and his Ministry, was changed into an obstinate preference for "strong" measures when Irishmen were to be dealt with. It is lamentable to see the immediate cause—the *ostensible* reason—of Earl Grey's final exist from public life, associated with a futile attempt to renew the "unconstitutional" Coercion Act.

We think Earl GREY has, upon the whole, been fortunate and successful in his foreign policy. His views have perhaps been thwarted in some degree by the employment of disaffected diplomatists: another sacrifice to the malignant Tories. His opposition to the English Movement, also encouraged Louis Philip to proceed with confidence in his attack upon the liberties of France. The affairs of the Peninsula, on the other hand have turned out better than it was reasonable to expect; and Earl Grey has steadily adhered to the pacific policy he laid down on entering office.

But the great measure with which the name of Earl Grey in imperishably associated, was the Reform Bill. He was the instrument of effecting a mighty revolution in the political constitution of the British nation, He put the means of good government into the hands of the People; and if the first use of those means has not been attended with the beneficial result anticipated by the Reformers, still there is no question that the ruling power has changed hands, and that in future it will be the People's own fault if it be unwisely exercised. Much gratitude, and some charity for the prejudices of caste and training, as well as sympathy for the infirmities of advanced years, is due to the statesman who had the honesty and courage to take the lead in this great work.

As regards the personal character of Earl Grey, it is pleasant to know that it is quite untarnished. We have had reason to charge several of his colleagues with a propensity to shuffle and deceive. Even in the Cabinet there was too much of doubledealing going on; and the Premier's narrative of the proceedings which led to his resignation proves that our appellative of "*Tricky* Ministry" was not misapplied. But Earl Grey himself is free from this imputation. He was uniformly straightforward, consistent, and manly in his avowals of opinion, and in his conduct both in and out of Parliament. Had he been more pliable, in some respects, he would perhaps have made a better Minister. But though he professed to move with "the spirit of the age," he by no means kept up with it, and hardly understood its force. It would be hypocritical in us to lament his retirement. His day of usefulness was over, and he has done well to resign.

Lord ALTHORP stated the reasons for his own resignation, in the House of Commons, while Earl Grey was addressing the Lords. His explanation was received as all previous explanations from their chief favourite have uniformly been received by the Representatives of the People. Never certainly did any Minister succeed so well in gaining the regard and good-will of his brother Members. Even Mr. O'Connell and Mr. Hume professed to place perfect confidence in the good Lord Althorp.

Mr. LITTLETON harped upon one string—that of his own indiscretion in talking with O'Connell. This is superlatively silly. Mr. Littleton acted *discreetly* in consulting with the foremost man of that country, with whose government he was intrusted, and for whose tranquillity he was responsible. The result only caused him to be blamed by his colleagues; but the country has reason to rejoice at the consequence of his indiscretion. Had he resigned immediately on discovering that he had misled O'Connell, he would have stood well with the Liberal party; and it appears from his speech, that Mr. Littleton is himself aware of the mistake he committed in remaining.

The only Ministers who have actually resigned their offices, are Earl Grey and Lord Althorp; though some expressions in the explanatory speech of the latter conveyed the impression, that Mr. Abercromby, Mr. Charles Grant, Mr. Spring Rice, and Mr. Ellice had also seceded from the Cabinet. Lord Althorp had stated, that while he was speaking, Earl Grey was communicating to the Upper House the fact of the *dissolution* of the Government: and certainly the whole tenor, if not the express words of Earl Grey's speech on Wednesday, was to that effect. But on the following evening, Lord Brougham, being questioned on the subject by that bustling personage Lord Londonderry, denied most positively that the Government was at an end; declared that Lord Althorp had been misinformed as to what had fallen from Earl Grey; and referred to his own declaration on the preceding evening, that *he* had not abandoned his Sovereign,—a declaration which produced roars of laughter from the Peers, who seem to be unanimous in the belief that Lord Brougham never *will* abandon his Sovereign, but that he will cleave to him, for better for worse, till death do them part. Assuredly there was nothing in the tone and manner of Lord Brougham's harangue which could lead any one to suppose that it was his intention to share the fortunes of the fallen Minister. He spoke in reply to what the *Times* justly calls a "rude, unfeeling, vindictive" speech of the Duke of Wellington; but the triumphant tone and exulting style of his oration, notwithstanding he plastered Earl Crey with fulsome praise, was far more unfeeling, far more disgusting, than the blunt and course asperity of the soldier. The conduct of Lord Brougham, in the whole of this affair, had done him no good with any party. He wishes to have it believed that the Cabinet has not been dissolved, notwithstanding the resignations of the Premier and Chancellor of the Exchequer, as long as *he* retains his wig. But although the other Ministers still act as individual servants of the Crown, they cannot act together as a Cabinet. The Government is therefore virtually broken up.

Little progress has been made towards its reconstruction. Lord Melbourne has been consulted by the King; who is said to be desirous of forming a Coalition Cabinet of Whigs and Tories. The serious, if not insuperable difficulties in the way of such a scheme, must retard if not prevent its execution. The Duke of Wellington and Sir Robert Peel are also reported to have been in communication with his Majesty. But the Tories are evidently dispirited, and see little prospect of their return to power. Up to this time all is uncertainity.

A recent arrival from New York brings accounts confirmatory of a statement which we made a month ago, on private authority, of the disorders in the American Post-office department. A report, which was read in the Senate on the 17th June, states that the Post-office is "largely insolvent;" that it owes 800,000 dollars more than it can pay; and that maleadministration, and favourism in the selection of officers, have been the cause of this great defalation. The accounts rendered by the Post-office functionaries are discredited; and large sums are said he have been illegally and collusively obtained.

SCOCTLAND.—The salaries of the Judges in the Court of Session are to be increased: those of the heads of the two Inner Courts to 3000*l.*; all the Judges to do duty as Lords of Session, Justiciary, Jury Court. It is also proposed that any Judge of the age of seventy-five. who has done duty for fifteen years shall be allowed to retire on full salary, The following Judges may and very likely will, avail themselves of this previlege: Lord President Hope, Lord Glenlee, Balgray, Gillies, and Cringletie.—*Edinburgh Evening Post.*

We understand that while the Lord Chancellor was delivering his speech in the House of Lords on Wednesday, certain Ultra-Tory females were assembled in the Gallery, and attracted much notice by the indecorum of their behaviour. In particular one babbling Countess was heard to give vent to her rage in the most foul and outrageous slanders; and these being reported to the noble and learned Lord, it is said that instructions havs been given to commence a prosecution. When females, whose chief ornament is modsty and quiet, and attention to the duties of private life, mix themselves in the fury of party, and become the propagators of slander and falsehood, they lose the privilege of their sex, and must expect to be treated as men would be in the same circumstances.—*Morning Chronicle.*

STATE OF PARTIES: FORMATION OF A NEW MINISTRY.

The extreme difficulty of forming an Administration likely to last, is admitted by all who are aware of the state of parties and of public feeling.

For, in the first place, a Tory Cabinet is out of the question. As long ago as the period of Lord Liverpool's demise, Sir Robert Peel told George the Fourth that the materials for forming a Ministry on tory principles did not exist. Since then, the materials have been in a rapid decay; and though a rash attempt might be made to govern the country for a few months by Tory Ministers—and we are by no means certain that the *result* of the attempt would not be beneficial, though the intermediate process would be unpleasant—still it is in the highest degree improbable that any such proceeding will be countenanced by the more influential men of the Tory party. Indeed, the well-informed and penetrating spirits among them do not scruple to express, *in private*, whatever they may pretend in speeches or in paragraphs, a decided opinion, that the tendency of the age is to Radicalism,—which even their own youth are imbibing, in spite of Oxford; and that the sun of Tory domination has set for ever.

Would it be impossible, then, to form an Administration composed of avowed Radicals? We think decidedly not. Who are the men among the Radicals with aptitude for office, supposing that it were open to them? Where is the party in Parliament to support them? The Members of the Independent section of the House of Commons do not act with confidence or in concert. They acknowledge no leaders, and carry on a desultory uncertain warfare against abuses. Every one among them seems, as the American phrase is, to be "fighting on his own hook." No—the case will be very different in a few years hence, but there is not the least chance of forming a Radical Mtnistry at the present time.

A Coalition Ministry of Whigs and Tories is thought by many to be a more feasible speculation; and it is not impossible that an effort may be made to put one together. But its existence would be uneasy, dishonourable, and brief. In political chemistry, *coalition* signifies dilution—weakening. Each of the parties coalescing loses something each takes something from the other. In the case supposed, the Cabinet formed by a junction with the avowed Tories would be less Liberal than that which has just fallen to pieces, for no other reason than that there was too much Toryism in it already. For it should be kept constantly in remembrance, that it was the Toryism *within*, not the Toryism without, which has ruined the Grey Administration. The external pressure came not from the Conservatives. It was the Liberal party whose mercy and forbearance the late Premier bespoke. In the existing state of public feeling, and while much work remains to be done, Whigs and Tories. Liberals and Obstructives, cannot act together. When the King wished *all* his horses to run for the same stake at Ascot Races, he was made to comprehend, that though one would win, all the others would be beaten, and thus there would be no victory to the Royal stud—that the noble animals would only jstle against and hurt each other. May it please his Majesty to apply the parable; and to be assured that nothing better than sprains and tumbles will be the result of an attempt to harness together all his prime cattle, of various sizes, colour, and blood, in the same state coach.

As neither a Tory, Radical, nor Coalition Ministry can be formed with the least prospects of enduring for more than a few months, if so long; it would seem that the new Cabinet must, unavoidably, be constructed out of the materials of the old one, with some Liberal additions, and some improvement, if possible, in the fash ioning and adaptation of parts. Should this plan be tried. the Whigs and Liberals have a Premier ready-made: and great will be the astonishment of half the country to learn, that Lord Althorp is the man! It appears to be the almost universal opinion, that the House of Commons will not go on with any other Leader. His popularity in the House never was surpassed, perhaps never equalled, by any one of his predecessors in the same situation. This is no doubt owing, in the first place, to his suavity of demeanour, and to the genuine good feeling he uniformly displays. We cannot call to mind a single instance of his having behaved discourteously even to the most insignificant among his opponents. He appears to be incapable of those displays of official insolence of which his subalterns are not unfrequently guilty. Then his rank and large expectations weigh much in his favour: the Reformed House will not be led by a plebeian! The circumstances account in some measure, although not altogether, for Lord Althorp's extraordinary influence in the ruling Chamber of the Legislature. But has he the talent and information requisite for the head of the Government? He is *proverbially* obtuse. In this respect, however, it is believed that considerable misapprehension exists: those who have been in the habit of working with him, and of seeing him nearly, give him little credit for those qualities of solidity which currently pass as his most distinguishing attributes; and our readers may remember that more than once we have intimated our own suspicions on this point. Assuredly, bright gleams have occasionally burst from him. His reply to Stanley last week was admirable: Canning himself could not have set down the fiery young gladiator with more felicitous phrase, and the *manner* was his own. Lord Althorp's *real* opinions are also supposed to be altogether Liberal. He has no conscientious qualms about touching the surplus of Irish Church property. He has no fondness for Coercion Bills, or any other Tory modes of carrying on the Government.

But, admitting that Lord Althorp possesses the requisite talents and information to make a respectable Minister—admitting that he consciously disapproves of the illiberal anti-reforming practices to which his late colleagues were prone—what dependence, it may be fairly said, can be placed on a man who was so facile or so unscrupulous as to keep his own principles in abeyance, and be made the ready instrument of defending measures and opinions against which his own feelings of right and honour revolted? The reply to this is (and it is a very unsatisfactory one), that in different circumstance Lord Althorp would act differently and better. With a majority in the Cabinet as well as in the House of Commons, he would feel more confidence and courage. He has hitherto laboured under a dread of being left in a minority, and of thus perhaps causing the overthrow of a Ministry which he wished above all things to support. This has led him to distrust his own judgement, and his put him in a false position. When backed by Liberal colleagues in the Cabinet, he would have no hesitation in proposing Liberal measures in Parliament, where his majorities would be greater than ever supported a Minister before. It is hoped that Lord Althorp, under such circumstances, would act with sincerity, and in accordance with what are well known to be his real principles. Such are the arguments used by Lord Althorp's apologists and backers. They by no means convince us of the propriety of selecting him for the head of affairs at this critical time, were there (which we fear there is not) a better choice left open to us. Neither can we believe that the country will *all at once* be brought to place that confidence in Lord Althorp which the House of Commons bestows so readily.

On the supposition, however, that the Cabinet were reconstructed *on Liberal principles,—that its policy were reconsedered,* and the determination made henceforth to move with the "spirit of the age," and to take the lead in plans of Practical Reform in Church and State.—supposing all this resolved upon by Lord Althorp's late colleagues, or others who may be brought to act under him (and it is only under such circumstances that we can indulge the least hope of benefit or satisfaction to the country from placing Lord Althorp at the head of affairs),—is it clear that he would himself consent to return to office, in the responsible character of Prime Minister? We can easily believe that he would hesitate in stepping into Earl Grey's place; for such an act would make it manifest that Earl Grey was the only obstacle in his course, after the removal of Mr. Stanley and his friends, and that if Earl Grey had resigned first, Lord Althorp would not have resigned at all. This would be awkward. But there is no help for it; and personal feelings, however amiable and repectable, ought to yield to the superior claims of public and general good.—*Spectator, July* 12.

FROM A CROAKER IN THE COUNTRY

At this distance from the scene of action, it is not safe to speak of any thiug as certain; and yet I think it looks as if my words had come true, and that we are not only without a Government, but without the means of forming one. Or is Lord Grey so low in the public esteem that he may be replaced by a Nobody, and that Lord Althorp being replaced bv Anybody, the rickety concern may go on a while longer without our feeling any loss? This is Master Brougham's plan. "Go to," saith he, "we, the Goverment can do very well without Grey and Althorpe. Such men may be easily replaced; will be; and *Juste Milieu*—the system of all-things-to-all-men, or neither-one-thing-nor-the-other, of which I, H. Brougham, Lord Vaux, am the incarnation—shall last my time." So be it; so be it, at least, if my *Spectator* correspondent judge well in supposing that a Ministry is good in proportion as it is despised. But if this notable scheme of the Chancellor should fail, what then? shall it be Wellington and his set? or Peel, a Lord and Premier, with Spitfire Stanley for leader of the Reformed? or Lord Durham, with open war between the two Houses? To each of these proposals, all sane men answer—*That* will never do. What *will* do?—Nothing that one can think of promises well. And why? Because the *Juste Milieu* system has bought matters to such a pass, that, turn which way you will, you see a revolution coming. Wellington—with the present temper of the the mass of the people, means an immediate crash. Peel and Stanley—a crash before long, with the satisfaction, meanwhile, of looking forward to it. Lord Durham—considering that the *Juste Milieu* has made the Lords bold and desperate, means something very like a crash. Tol-de-rol, Mr. Spectator, if affairs don't look black enough, I wish, as Colouel Crockett says, I wish I may be shot.—*Spectator, July,* 12.

CONSTANTINOPLE, JUNE 6.

The festivities on the occasion of Sultans's marriage came yesterday to a close. Nothing has been spared during the 15 days consecrated to their celebration that could add to the entertainment of the conspicuous guests who at he Sultan's invitation flocked to Constantinople from all parts of the empire, or contribute to the amusement of of the people. The rope-dancing, equestrian feats, fireworks, and illuminations, have in consequence been very gratifying to the population of the capital, a population whose child-like simplicity is pleased with trifles, and well deserves some extraordinary recreations. The mass has been call-

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ed the opera of servant maids; but in Turkey, where the boisterous pastimes, the religious pomps, and the theatrical entertainments of Europe are wanting, the forms of religion afford neither shows to please the eye, nor sounds to fill the ear. Amusements are so rare, that the delight felt by all classes on the occasion is easily to be accounted for. Even to a European, whose fastidious taste can only be pleased by strong excitements, the sight was novel and interesting. The lines of green tents for the troops lining the summits of the picturesque banks of the Bosphorus, the tents of the grandees (some of great splendour) pitched on the declivity behind the new palace of Beshik Tash, seemed to restore to the Turks their nomade character and simple primitive habits,—a strange contrast with our manners and ideas;, Pachas and Mollahs dining in their open tents while native musicians sang to the accompaniment of their national instruments ballads recording the events of former days, or agile dancers moved to the lively sounds of castanests the population standing in circles around them, or circulating freely about.

At night the illuminations, with such a *charpente* as the shores of the Bosphorous, presented a line of light which extended with the windings of the canal from the sweet waters at the extremity of the Golden Horn to Bujukdere, a distance of abont 18 miles. The illumination of the Seraglio point was equally brilliant and chaste, and as you descended the Bosphorus, seemed to spread like a palace of light in the midst of darkness, not resting on the earth, but approached by the long avenue of the illuminated canal. Every night the Seraglio presented a different figure in its centre and principal compartment—a ship, the imperial cipher, the Sultan's ten-oared boat, an immense star, a passage from the Koran, an imitation of Mosaic. These changes were sometimes effected during the evening. This mode of illumination, which is truly Turkish might well be a adopted by Europeans; it is as follows:—A frame from 20 to 40 feet high is erected in front of the building to be illuminated; on the transverse beam small pullies are adjusted through which lines are passed, to which the lamps are made fast at the proper distances, and admit of being raised or lowered with this greatest ease, according to the outline of the figure or sentences to be formed. These lines resemble the warp of a web. Great extent can thus be given to the illumination at little cost. The rapidity with which a figure is transformed into another is surprising; in order to facilitate the metamorphosis every line has marks, indicating the height to which it is to be raised, according to the exhibition intended. Every eminence can be taken advantage of—chimnies, minarets, trees, steeples,—and great room for the display of taste in the selection and variety of the figures may thus be obtained. Though to the eye of an European the fireworks appeared but poor specimens of pyrotechny, yet the originality of several of the exhibitions could not but agreably excite his surprise. Among other things, a shark, 40 feet in length, swam on the surface of the Bosphorus, and whilst pursuing smaller fishes, poured from its gaging mouth, eyes, and nostrils, torrents of liquid fire. A sudden explosion metamorphosed it into a boat, adorned on all sides with blue lights.

It may be asked in Europe if Turkey has nothing more important to attend to at this moment than giving in marriage—if millions of money could not find better employment than fireworks, banquets, and festivities—if time, so valuable at all times, so invaluable now to Turkey, might not be better employed than in the encampment of Dolmabakshe? Still this marriage feast has not, I think, been without some good effect. After the want of administrative union throughout the empire, perhaps the dispersion of the capital itself, and the want of points and objects of assembling, is the greatest barrier in Turkey to the formation and strengthening of opinion. In the encapment of Dolmabakshe have been assembled for 15 days, not only the chief men resident in the capital, but also the governors, the heads of the law, and the principal proprietors from the greater portion of the empire. There, without any occupation or immediate purpose, their time has been spent in paying and receiving visits; the news of each district, the general state and prospects of the country, have been the naturally prevailing topics, and topics the more freely entered into from the nature of Turkish intercourse, which is never so numerous that the sentiments of any one individual is unknown to the rest. I was myself present at a conversation which took place under a tent, between Turks of rank from Constantinople and several Beys from the interior, and was so pleased with the spirited manner in which two hours passed away. The establishment of Lancasterian schools, the improvement of roads, and ameliorations in agriculture and commerce, formed the topics of discussion. Its immediate practical results were, that the Bey from Larissa manifested the determination of taking with him on his leaving Constantinople a teacher acquainted with the system of mutual instruction, in order to establish in his native town a school on that principal. The Moussellim of Loulè Bourgerz declared it also his intention to do the same. A Bey resident at Constantinople laid a wager with a person present, who doubted of the possibility of carrying the thing into execution that before 3 months he would establish a school of that kind in his own house.

I am sorry I cannot send you a very favourable sketch of the bride for she is represented by those who have been able to know something about so mysterious a matter as disfigured by the small pox, as having strongly marked features, grey eyes, and almost total deficiency of eyebrows, her stature is below the average; her age is 22, which for this precocious clime is considered as somewhat *passée*. Unfortunately for her, and still more so for her bridegroom, she is passionate, capricious, of a haughty, reserved, and selfish disposition—a complete shrew, not admitting of being tamed. Yet, in spite of all these faults, she has constantly been her father's favourite. Even before coming out of the carriage which brought her from her father's palace to the one destined for her residence, she gave to her expectant husband a lesson which at once effectually taught him that predestination has doomed him to unmerciful henpecking. As soon as the carriage stopped before the gate of her new palace Halil Pacha presented himself to hand her out. In vain did he embrace her feet, in vain did he address her in oriental metaphors, and kneel before her, use the most impassionate language, and the tenderest and most pressing invitations. He could not even prevail upon her to cast a look towards him. Exposed to the rays of a scorching sun, he remained more than half an hour in this humble attitude, till strength and language almost failing him, he repeatedly cried out with a fainting voice, "Alas, my Sovereign, wilst thou not take pity on thy slave!" Even the eunuch who accompanied her was moved to compassion: he united his entreaties to the Pacha's tears, but equally to no purpose. It is difficult to say how long this scene might have been prolonged had not the Sultan arrived in person to unloose this *dignus vindice nodus*. With an imperious nod she ordered Halil Pacha to rise from the ground, where he lay postrate, and was led by him to the gates of the harem. He then withdrew to the selamlik, or men's apartments, there to wait her further orders. The six Cadinnes or wives of the Sultan, the Odalisks, and the nemerous female retinue of the imperial harems the Sultan's three sisters, and her own two brothers and sisters, who had accompanied her, mounted then to her apartment and welcomed her according to the eastern ceremony. The first Hanims, or wives of the grandness of the empire, and those of the Pachas, were immediately after introduced into her prssence, and permitted to kiss her foot. During the performance of the ceremony the Sultana, it was observed not only did not address a single word to any of these ladies, dies, but not even condescended to look at them keeping her head constantly averted to one side. It was then announced to them, that to confer upon them on additional mark of favour, the Sultan had graciously ordered that they, as wives of his faithful servants, should be permitted to perform obeisance before the mother of the bride. Ushered into another apartment, they were, according to their rank, led before a door guarded by the chief eunuchs, at the bottom of which appeared the hem of her robes. Kneeling on the ground they reverently approached, raised it to their lips and forehead and withdraw. To such an extreme is jealousy pushed in the imperial harem, that no mortal except their immediate attendants is ever permitted to cast his profance eye on a Cadinne! The liberty which the Sultan granted them of accompanying his daughter is considered by every one among the Turks as an unprecedented fact in the annals of the Seraglio, an instance mentioned by the old and fanatic as a convincing proof of the depravity of modern times. My fair informant tells me that wonderful are the alterations which the ladies' dress has undergone on this occasion. "Wallahah! we are about being metamorphosed into Franks," said she, with that *naiveté* so general among Turkish females. Only think, we all wore silk stockings and satin sleeves, gloves pelerines, and spencers with gigot sleeves! On our entering the imperial harem the dress we wore was taken from us, and we were dressed by the eunuchs after the new fashion. Some of us went even to the length of putting on artificial curls. Wallahah! Islam kalmadee! Upon my honour, Mahomedanism no longer exists!" After welcoming his daughter to her new palace and giving her his blessing, the Sultan withdrew to an apartment where, to their infinate surprise, the ladies invited to the harem were ushered in and allowed the honour of embracing his Highness's feet. A ring and a shawl was, on their leaving the room, given to each of them in the Sultan's name

Shortly after the Yatzee hour for performing the evening prayer, a loud claping of hands re-echoed during several minutes throughout the harem, interrupted now and then by the shrill voices of twenty eunuchs, ordering every lady to withdraw to her apartment, for the bridegroom was about to pass. The Sheik Islam and the most distinguished Ulemas and Imaums accompanied him to the gate of the harem, and after repeating a long prayer. to which those present said "amen," pushed the Pacha with force into the apartment of the women, and drawing the door with violence, locked him in. If I may judge by the manner of Halil Pacha, whom I have repeatedly seen since, he and his wife are now on excellent terms with each other. O.

HOWISON'S EUROPEAN COLONIES.

MR. HOWISON is favourably known by his *Sketches of Upper Canada*, and by another publication on Colonial life, whose pleasant impressions we remember, though we forget the title. After a silence of some years, he again comes before the public, with a more extensive personal experience, greater information acquired from books, a much larger field, and higher aim In clearness of delineation, graphic effects, and light brilliancy of touch, he is equal to the best writers of the day. The absence of statistical facts, of exact scientific knowledge, and its practical application, would seem to stamp him as belonging to an æra previous to the "Revolutionary Bill."

As regards the dry but important matters we have alluded to, the reader who is tempted by the equivocal title will be disappointed. By "physical condition," Mr. Howison does not mean a measurement of the height of mountains, a geological analysis of the various soils, or any other of the specific details which are classed by the geographer under the head of "physical;" but something much more agreeable to read—a portraiture of the land and sea, as they appear to the eye of a keen observer and lover of the picturesque, and who finds that the dreary expanse of the Great Sahara or the unrivalled sterility of the Karroo are not barren at least of interest. According to our author's example, there are better, or at all events pleasanter modes of exhibiting the "social and moral condition of colonists," than by tables of imports and exports, births and deaths, soils and taxes, got up the Lord knows how or for what purpose. He prefers giving historical sketches of the aborigines, their pure, European masters, and the various bastard breeds which civilization has introduced; with slight accounts of what they do, what sort of people they are, and how they pass their time. His authority for the past is the collections of former travelers,—sometimes, like Vaillant, charmingly vivacious, even though they may have improved the forms of nature or heightened her colours; sometimes, like Barrow, full of matter more grave and more trustworthy, but (let us breathe it in a whisper) not quite so delightful for a *tête-à-tête*. A long list of men who were more capable of acting and suffering than of describing their exploits, forms the remainder; and these, though not popular reading as a series, are crowded with fragments of literal truth and indicated knowledge. The authority for the present time is chiefly Mr. Howison himself—the experince of a sensible man of the world and an elegant man of letters, who has visited or resided in the places he describes. All the raw materials thus collected are manufactured with admirable skill, although too much importance is now and then given to truisms and common places.

The first volume, which is the only one before us in a complete state at the moment of writing, contains India and the Colonies in Southern and Western Africa. Of these, the last is the most complete and the most elaborate: the part devoted to the Cape the most useful. In India the author may be more at home; but it is scarcely treated at the length and with the fulness which so important a branch of the subject demanded. In general, Mr. Howison's opinions are practical, or rather emperical—his own theorizing upon his own partial facts, instead of testing his observations by the rules which have been drawn from an extensive collection of data. In all cases, his leaning is to the aborigines of a country: but the conclusion to which he comes is not to establish a better system of colonization, by which the reciprocal depredations and reprisals of the savages and the out-settlers (not much less savage) shall be checked; but to avoid forming settlements at all, and leave the natives to their own simple enjoyments. Even if the people are too powerful or the climate too unhealthy to form a colony, he would not attempt to establish a trade; for he holtd that the "demand for European manufactures" adds nothing to their comforts, but very much to their vices. The freedom with he has spoken upon the general uselessness of missions to the heathen, will perhaps provoke more censure than these unbusinesslike doctrines, notwithstanding the moderation of his tone and the reasonableness of his facts and arguments.

In Mr. Howison's previous publications the word "Sketches" has been prominent on the titlepage. The phrase was indicative of the author's talent. He should be entitled The Sketcher, *par excellence*. He has not an historical mind—neither the patient research, the practical sagacity, the keen discrimination, nor the philosophical views which belong to the historian. But his historical sketches are animated and rapid. He does not analyze a society like a lover of wisdom or consider it in *all* its various relations; but how pleasantly he paints its manners and modes! His forte, however, is landscape, or rather the external forms of nature, whether animate or inanimate, at sea or on shore. In the following description, see with what skill the barrenness of the desert is contrasted with the richness of the adjoining tropic, and what interest is imparted to a catalogue of plants and birds. Pity that the climate of the Senegal is so death-dealing, or relays of steamers might easily convey thither the invalid or the pallid pleasure-seeker. It would be better than a winter in Bath or even in Italy.

On making the coast, the long tongue of land already described is first seen, and is little calculated to give the spectator a favourable idea of the neighbouring country; for its surface consists of loose sand, of a dazzling whiteness, drifted into irregular ridges by the wind, and sprinkled here and there with a few stunted bushes of a brownish hue. No houses, human beings, or marks of cultivation diminish the dreary uniformity of the prospect; and the brilliant sunshine of a tropical climate seems only to give a painful distinctness to its horrid features, and to make its solitude and unfruitfulness more apparent. The adjoining coast presents a shelving beach, along which a heavy surf constantly breaks. There birds of the egret kind resort in considerable numbers, and disposing themselves in files, stand motionless, basking in the sun with their heads under their wings. During the day, the reflection from the shore is nearly intolerable to the eye; and the heated sand rarefying to an extraordinary degree the stratum of air in contact with it, produces a kind of mirage, which not only distorts and disguises all objects within its influence, but communicates to them an appearance of tremulous motion, which makes the observer feel giddy should he continue to look abroad for any length of time.

But after crossing the bar of the Senegal and rounding the Point of Barbary, the Libyan desert is no longer seen; and the eye, wherever it turns, rests upon a mass of luxuriant vegetation, consisting chiefly of trees that are unknown in European climates. Amongst them are found palms of various kinds, such as the date, the cocoa-nut, and the areca; and also the cotton-tree, the wild-fig, the tamarind, and the banana. But the one that chiefly attracts the attention is the bahobab or calabash tree, which is the largest vegetable production in the world; its trunk, according to Adamson, sometimes measuring sixty or seventy feet in circumference, and throwing out no branches for nearly an equal height from the ground. These stately trees love the banks of the river, where they form places of general resort for nearly all the animal inhabitants of the forest. Their larger branches are peopled with monkies of different kinds, which, after uniting with small detachments, run to their furthest extremities, and having there for a few moments surveyed the persons passing by in boats, and saluted them with discordant cries, hurry back into the shade, and are soon succeeded by new reconnoitering parties of the same species. On the twigs projecting over the river, birds of the kingfisher tribe suspend their nests, woven in a pear-like shape, where they swing to and fro with every breath of wind, safe from the depredations of either apes or serpents; while many reptiles of the latter kind, varying in size and colour, twine themselves round the lower boughs, in order to watch conveniently for a prey and dart down upon it when it does appear. The roots of the bahobab afford shelter to multitudes of squirrels which sport amongst their interstices, and its trunk is studded with lizards of the most resplendent hues, lying in wait for the insects which fly around in myriads, and keep up an incessant and sonorous humming. Alligators lie basking in the sun upon the shallows in the middle of the river, and their musky scent is often perceptible when, frightened by the approach of a boat, they plunge under water and swim lazily away. The crashing of boughs, heard occasionally in the depth of the forest, announces that troops of elephants are passing along there; and in the various little bays and inlets that indent the banks of the stream, flamingoes may be seen standing together in pairs, and laving with water their scarlet wings while other birds, equal in beauty, but still more shy and solitary, flutter amongst the bushes, or make their presence known only by the melody or strangeness of their notes.

Here is a pleasant specimen of Portuguese colonization, though somewhat rhetorical at its close. Prince Puckler-Muskau might buy Kacheo for Prussia. It would afford a drain for surplus population at all events.

Kacheo consists of a small town and a mean fort, much out of repair, and scantily provided in every respect. Nevertheless, the place generally has a governor appointed in Europe, who is, in most instances, some military man whom age or infirmities has rendered unfit for active service, or some troublesome claimant upon the crown whom it is found desirable to get rid of; for few persons of any class that go to Kacheo ever return from it. Twenty or thirty invalided Portuguese soldiers form the garrison; but their pay is so small, that they can scarcely subsist upon it; and most of them, when off duty, are in the habit of prowling about the streets at night, and robbing any one that they may happen to meet Criminals are often banished from Portugal to Kacheo, and these with the mulattoes produced by their intercourse with the Negro women, compose the chiefest part of its population.

The indolence of all classes is so great, that the land in even the immediate neighbourhood of the town remains uncultivated, with the exception of a few fields of maize and plantains; and the unhealthiness of the climate, doubtless increased by this cause, conjoined with the poverty of the inhabitants, gives them a distressed and emaciated appearance which makes a stranger shudder. Most of the houses are built of upright wooden posts interwoven with twigs and plaste ed with clay, and whitewashed: the roofs are thatched with palm leaves.

The rain sometimes pours down in torrents for weeks together, accompanied with such frightful storms of thunder and lightning, that the inhabitant, are forced to shut themselves up in their dwellings and sit in darkness till the return of tranquil weather. Nor dare they at any time venture far beyond the precincts of the town, lest the Papal Negroes (the aborigines of the country) should rush from the neighbouring woods and destroy or take them prisoners; and assassinatons often occur amongst the mulattoes in Kackeo itself, insignificant as it is in population and extent; and when an alarm of the kind is givin, the inhabitants, instead of runing to assist the person assalted, close their shutters and bar their doors, lest they should become witnesses of the crime, and afterwards fall victims to the fears and jealousy of its perpetrator. Refugees and desperate characters of every kind resort to the place, and live without decency or restraint, and are kept in check by nothing but the dread of suffering retaliation from the hands of each other. Filth, famine, and misery, lurk in every house; crime stalks abroad with brazen forehead; the dæmon of pestilence patroles the streets; and human life and human character assume, in every particular, their basest forms and their most revolting aspects.

We will close, at leas as regards the present volume, with the

STATE AND PROSPECTS OF SIERRA LEONE

With respect to the colony at Sierra Leone, which cost Britain so much money and so many lives, every one knows that it is a complete failure. The emancipated and delivered Negroes, for whom it was intended as an asylum, soon grew disgusted with the spot, and retired into the interior of the country. The native merchants, who were expected to have come from Central Africa to trade at the settlement, have never yet made their appearance there Twenty two thousand individuals of different descriptions joined the establishment at Sierra Leone between 1787 and 1826, and of these only thirteen thousand remained, or were in existence, at the end of the latter year The European emigrants consisted almost exclusively of disbanded and pensioned soldiers, who, it must be supposed, were sent to the coast of Africa, not that they might give the Negroes a taste for civilized life, or improve their morals, but that they might cease to be a burden to Government, and a pest to their native country. Of these men fewer have perished than could have been expected, considering their dissipated habits; for out of one thousand two hundred and twenty-two that joined the colony between 1817 and 1819, it appears that nine hundred and forty-nine were alive in 1826. But the number of civil and military officers who have fallen victims to the climate is immense; and Sierra Leone may now be considered untenable by Europeans, or at least not worth retaining. When the public functionaries shall have been withdrawn from it—when it shall no longer enjoy a local government—and when its laws shall cease to be administered or observed—its motley and partly instructed population, unable to relish the simplicity of Negro life, will in all likelihood become pirates and banditti; and the British nation may hereafter find it necessary, for the security of her African trade, to exterminate a colony which she has long protected, and has hitherto fostered with useless and unproductive care.

PAGANINI.—The musical coteries have been amused during the week by a love adventure, of which the celebrated Paganini was the hero. The following paragraph from a Boulogne paper gives the particulars:—"The celebrated Paganini, who disembarked here a few days ago, is the hero of a rather scandalous adventure, the following details of which are, we have reason to believe, strictly true—Paganini, it appears, had entered into a very advantageous agreement, for him at least, with a Mr. Watson, of London. For his performances he was to receive a fixed and considerable sum per night, no matter what the receipts might be. This bargain so profitable to Paganini, proved ruinous to Mr. Watson, and, to add to his misfortunes, the celebrated *virtuoso*, taking advantage of his intimacy with the family of Mr. Watson, won the consent of his daughter, a girl of 16 or 17, not exactly to run away with him, but to run away after him to the Continent. Soon after the enamoured musician had left London, the young lady stole away from her father's house, and set out for Boulogne, but her flight being quickly announced, her father took the same direction, and, as it would appear, with still greater celerity, though they say Love has wings, for the fair fugitive stepping from the packet on the quay at Boulogne, she was received into her father's arms instead of into those of the love-sick Paganini, and in place of the rosy urchin Cupid to welcome her to the Gallic shore, and lead her to her lover, she saw a stern-looking Commissary of Police, who insisted upon her returning to London with her father, in spite of the noise remonstrances of an agent of Paganini, who spoke much, and in good set terms, of violation, personal liberty, land of freedom," &c.

It was yesterday discovered that Don Carlos had suddenly embarked on board the United Kingdom steamer, which is fitted out as a vessel of war. His destination is not known.—*Bell's Life in London, July* 13.

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